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MAJOR GENERAL

SIR THOMAS MUNRO. BART K.C.B.

THE

LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART.

AND K.C.B.

LATE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND PRIVATE PAPERS.

BY THE REV. G. R. GLEIG,

M.A. M.R.S.L. &c.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS GRACE

ARTHUR DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

&c. &c. &c.

WHO, FROM A PERSONAL INTIMACY WITH

SIR THOMAS MUNRO,

WAS ENABLED

JUSTLY TO APPRECIATE THE MERITS

OF THAT DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUAL,

THE FOLLOWING WORK

IS, WITH SENTIMENTS

OF THE MOST PROFOUND RESPECT

AND ADMIRATION,

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

In spite of the unaccountable apathy with which every subject connected with the administration of British India is regarded, there are few persons conversant with the transactions of the last fifty years, to whom the name of Sir Thomas Munro can be absolutely unknown. The many striking and important transactions in which he bore a part; the high and responsible offices which he filled; the friendships which he contracted with most of the distinguished characters of the age; and the estimation in which he was held by them, — these circumstances have all contributed to draw him more generally into notice, than almost any Indian functionary of modern times; whilst the attention thus excited, has rarely failed to be kept alive, by an exami-

nation, however superficial, into his own merits and services. No apology, therefore, seems necessary for the attempt now made, to make his countrymen in general better acquainted than they are with the history of a man whom Mr. Canning, with no less truth than elegance, has declared, that "Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman; nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier."*

But though the extraordinary merits of the individual himself might well justify the desire of rendering the particulars of his career as public as possible, it is due to the feelings of those most deeply interested in the present undertaking, to avow, that they have been actuated by other, and no less praiseworthy, motives. Few public men have owed less to others, or more to themselves, than Major-General Sir Thomas Munro. He entered the military service of the East India Company at the early age of eighteen; if not absolutely destitute of money and interest, at all events not more abundantly provided with either than the generality of youths similarly circumstanced; yet, by dint of his own genius, his own industry, his

* Speech of Mr. Canning, on occasion of a vote of thanks being passed in favour of the army employed against the Mahrattas in 1817, 18, and 19.

own integrity, and his own sound discretion, he rose to fill the highest station in the Presidency to which he was originally attached as a Cadet.

Were there no other reason, therefore, to be assigned for the present publication, the act might be justified on the ground that such a work is calculated to teach a very important lesson, by impressing upon the minds of young men employed in the public service, that there is no prize beyond the grasp of talent, provided it be accompanied by industry and strictly honourable conduct.

It must, however, be confessed, that other motives besides these have had their full weight on the present occasion. Perhaps there never lived an European more intimately acquainted than Sir Thomas Munro, with the characters, habits, manners, and institutions of the natives of India; because there never lived an European who at once possessed better opportunities of acquiring such knowledge, and made more ample use of them. Profoundly versed in the Hindostanee and other vernacular languages, and thrown continually into situations where the vernacular languages were alone spoken, he saw a great deal both of Hindoos and Mohammedans, in what may be termed their natural state; and hence the

conclusions at which he arrived touching their dispositions and customs were at once more philosophical, and more likely to be correct, than those of men who have conversed only with the corrupt and degraded race that frequent our Courts of Law, or surround our Presidencies. It was an act of justice, both to his own memory and to the inhabitants of British India, that his sentiments on these heads should not be concealed; whilst their publication, if it lead but to farther inquiry, may be productive of the most important benefits; not merely to the dependent, but to the ruling country. It is not within my province, did I possess the ability, to pass judgment, in a work like this, on the system of internal administration pursued in British India; but he must be a bold man who will contend that it is, in all respects, absolutely perfect; and sure I am, that by none have more judicious schemes of amelioration been pointed out, than by the distinguished subject of the present memoir.

Again, there are many persons who, without perplexing themselves with questions of police and revenue, are nevertheless desirous of knowing something of the general history of India,—of the nature of the climate, of the condition of the inhabitants, of the productions of the soil,

and of the state of trade. By all such, the life of Sir Thomas Munro will be found well worthy of perusal; inasmuch as there was not one of these points to which he failed to turn his attention, or of which he has neglected to give an account, as accurate as it is entertaining. Then again, if wit and playful humour, if vivid description and lively narrative possess attractions in the eyes of readers in general, they are all to be found here; whether the subject discussed be the operations of armies, the proceedings of social circles, points of literary disquisition, or the feelings of the individual himself. In a word, the memoir is given to the public for three excellent reasons: first, because it is the right of eminent services that they should not be at once forgotten; secondly, because the work may, it is hoped, prove useful; and, thirdly, because, unless I grossly deceive myself, it will be found both interesting and amusing among others, besides circles, strictly Indian.

Having thus explained the motives which led to the publication of the present memoir, it remains for me to say a few words touching my own situation, as connected with its publication.

I had not the happiness to be in the slightest degree acquainted with the late distinguished

Governor of Madras,---I never so much as saw him; but I have long known and admired his character and conduct, both as a soldier and a statesman. Circumstances having induced me to pay more attention to Indian subjects, than is perhaps usual with men not personally connected with that country, I have found many opportunities of estimating, as they deserved, the sound judgment and high talents of Sir Thomas Munro; and hence, as far as a just conception of the principles and order of his public life qualify one man to write the history of another, I am willing to persuade myself, that I am not unfit to appear as his biographer. But on my own qualifications, whether extensive or otherwise, I have, happily, not been obliged to depend. There is another gentleman connected with this undertaking, to whom by far the greater share of its merits, if it have any, is due; I mean J. G. Ravenshaw, Esq. one of the Directors of the East India Company,—a name not to be mentioned without respect. That gentleman had actually prepared a work, similar in almost every respect to mine, which, with the utmost liberality, he put into my hands, to be used as materials only. It is but just to add, that Mr. Ravenshaw is not responsible for any opinions which I have ven-

tured to advance. These, whether sound or unsound, are my own: but the principal labour of collecting the correspondence, a good deal of the arrangement, and, to a certain extent, at least the drawing up of the plan, devolved upon him. It is true, that I have not considered myself bound to adhere to his suggestions in every respect; many letters which he had marked for insertion, I have omitted, and several which he had omitted, I have introduced; but, on the whole, my obligations to him are too numerous and too weighty, not to be thus publicly and gratefully acknowledged.

With respect to the plan itself, it has been adopted as presenting the best opportunities of making the reader come, as it were, into personal contact with the individual whose story he peruses. In his own letters, especially in those addressed to his nearest relatives and most intimate friends, a much more accurate idea is to be formed of a man's character, than from any history detailed in the third person; and if these exhibit, as the letters of Sir Thomas Munro unquestionably do, marks of deep thought and brilliant genius, they are infinitely more attractive than any other species of literary composition. I do not, therefore, hesitate to own, that if the following cor-

respondence be not widely read and universally relished, I shall for the future greatly distrust my own judgment in such matters.

The following interesting epitome of his services, drawn up, I believe, on the occasion of his advancement to the Order of the Bath, was found among the private papers of Sir Thomas Munro. It is given, as forming no inapt introduction to the more detailed account which will be found in the sequel.

MEMORANDUM OF SERVICES.

I ARRIVED at Madras on the 15th of Jan. 1780, and did duty in the garrison of Fort St. George, until the invasion of the Carnatic, in July, by Hyder. I marched on the ——— with the grenadier company to which I belonged, the 21st battalion of sepoys, and a detachment of artillery, to Poonamalee; and from thence, after being joined by His Majesty's 73d regiment, to the Mount, where the army had been ordered to assemble. The cadet company having arrived in camp, I was ordered to do duty with it on the 20th August, 1780, and marched on the 26th of that month with the army under Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. I continued with

the army while it was commanded by that officer, and afterwards by Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, and Lieutenant-General Stewart, during all the operations in the Carnatic, in the war with the Mysoreans and the French, from the commencement of hostilities by Hyder Ally, until the cessation of arms with the French, on the 2d of July, 1783.

I was present in the retreat of Sir Hector Munro from Conjeveram to Madras, after the defeat of Colonel Baillie by Hyder Ally, on the 10th September, 1780.

I was with the army under Sir Eyre Coote, at the relief of Wandiwash, on the 24th of January, 1781.

At the cannonade by Hyder Ally, on the march from Pondicherry to Cuddalore, on the 7th February, 1781.

At the assault of Chilliumbrune, 18th June, 1781.

At the battle of Porto Novo, 1st July, 1781.

At the siege of Trepassore, 22d August, 1781.

At the battle of Polliloor, 27th August, 1781.

At the battle of Sholingur, 27th September, 1781.

I was with the advanced division of the army, under Colonel Owen, when that officer was at-

tacked and defeated by Hyder Ally, near Chittore, on the 23d October, 1781; but the 16th battalion of sepoys, to which I belonged, having been detached to the village of Magraul, about five miles distant, to collect grain, and a body of the enemy having thrown itself between this post and the corps under Colonel Owen, and rendered the junction of the battalions impracticable, Captain Cox, who commanded it, made good his retreat to the main army, by a forced march of nearly forty miles over the hills.

I was present at the taking of Chittore, on the 11th November, 1781.

On the —— November, 1781, having been appointed Quarter-master of brigade, I joined the 5th or left brigade of the army.

I was present when the army, on its march to relieve Vellore, was harassed and cannonaded by Hyder Ally, on the 10th and 13th of January 1782.

I was present at the battle of Arnee, on the 2d June, 1782.

At the attack of the French lines, and battle of Cuddalore, on the 13th June, 1783; on which occasion I acted as aid-de-camp to Major Cotgrave, field-officer of the day, who commanded the centre attack.

I was present at the siege of Cuddalore, until the 2d July, 1783, when hostilities ceased, in consequence of accounts having been received of the peace with France. From this period I remained with a division of the army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Madras, until after the definitive treaty with Tippoo Sultan, in March, 1784.

In July, 1784, I proceeded to join my corps stationed at Mellore, near Madura. In January, 1785, having been removed to the 30th battalion, I joined it at Tanjore; and on its being reduced a few months after, I was appointed to the 1st battalion of sepoys, in the same garrison, with which I did duty until ——— 1786; when, being promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, I was appointed to the —— battalion European infantry, in garrison at Madras.

In 1786, I was removed to the 11th battalion, and joined it in September, at Cassimcottah, near Vizagapatam. In January, 1787, having been appointed to the 21st battalion, I joined it in the following month at Vellore.

In August, 1788, having been appointed an assistant in the Intelligence Department, under Captain Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the

province of Guntoor, ceded by the Soubah of the Deccan, I joined the force assembled near Ongole for that purpose, and continued with it until, the service having been completed by the occupation of the forts, I proceeded to Ambore, a frontier station, commanded by Captain Read, under whom I was employed in the Intelligence Department until October, 1790: in that month I joined the 21st battalion Native infantry, in the army under Colonel Maxwell, which, in consequence of the war with Tippoo Sultan, invaded the Baramahl.

I was with the detachment sent out to cover the retreat of the 1st regiment Native cavalry, which fell into an ambuscade near Caverypatam, on the 11th November, 1790. I served in the field with the main army, or with detachments of it, until the conclusion of the war.

I was present in the pursuit of Tippoo by Lieutenant-General Meadows, through the Tappoor Pass, on the 18th November, 1790.

When the army, under Lord Cornwallis, entered Mysore in February, 1791, I was appointed to the command of a small body of two hundred sepoys, called the Prize Guard, to be employed in securing captured property, and in collecting cattle for the army on its march, and various other duties.

I was stationed in the town of Bangalore during the siege of the fort; and was present when it was taken by storm, on the 21st March, 1791.

I was with the army at the battle of Carrighal, near Seringapatam, on the 15th May, 1791.

On the return of the army from Seringapatam to the neighbourhood of Bangalore, I was constantly employed on detachment in escorting military stores and provisions to camp, until December, 1791, when the army being ready to advance to the siege of Seringapatam, I was thrown into the fort of Ootradroog, to cover the march of convoys from Bangalore to camp.

In the following month, January 1792, I was appointed assistant to Captain Read, who commanded a detachment at Bangalore, employed in forwarding supplies to the army.

In February, 1792, I marched with this officer, and joined the army before Seringapatam, during the negotiations for peace.

On the settlement of the peace, in March, 1792, I marched with the detachment in charge of the two sons of Tippoo, who were to be sent as hostages to Madras.

In April, 1792, I marched with the force ordered to occupy the Baramahl, ceded by Tippoo to the British Government.

From April, 1792, until March, 1799, I was employed in the civil administration of that country.

On the breaking out of the war with Tippoo Sultan, I joined the army under Lieutenant-General Harris, intended for the siege of Seringapatam, near Raycottah, on the 5th March, 1799.

Colonel Read, to whom I had been appointed secretary, having been detached on the 11th to bring forward the supplies in the rear of the army, took the hill-fort of Loulagherry by assault on the 15th, on which occasion I was present.

The detachment, after collecting the convoys, set out for Seringapatam; but, owing to the labour of repairing the Pass of Caveryporam, it did not reach the army until the 10th of May, six days after the fall of the place.

Having been appointed by the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, one of the secretaries to the Commission for the settlement of Mysore, I acted in that capacity until the conclusion of the Partition-Treaty, and the installation of the Rajah, on the —— July, 1799.

As I had been appointed to the charge of the civil administration of Canara, I entered that province in the end of July, and joined the force which had been previously sent to expel the enemy's garrisons.

From July, 1799, till the end of October, 1800 I remained in charge of Canara.

In the beginning of November, 1800, I proceeded to the Ceded Districts, to the civil administration of which I had been appointed in the preceding month.

I continued in charge of the Ceded Districts until the 23d of October, 1807, when I sailed for England, having then been employed, without interruption, during a period of nearly twenty-eight years in India.

I remained in England from April, 1808, till May, 1814, when I embarked for India, and reached Madras on the 16th September, 1814.

From September, 1814, till July, 1817, I was employed as Principal Commissioner for the revision of the Internal Administration in the Madras territories.

When preparations were made for taking the field against the Pindarries, I was appointed to the command of the reserve of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop. The reserve was, in July, 1817, ordered to advance and take possession of Dharwar, which the Peishwah had ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Poonah. I reached Dharwar on the 10th of August, three days after it had been given up to the advanced battalion of the re-

serve. I remained at Dharwar until the 11th October, engaged in arranging, with Mahratta commissioners, the limits of the districts which had been ceded by the Peishwah. On the 12th October, I commenced my march for Sondoor, a district held by a refractory Mahratta chief, whom I was ordered to dispossess, and to deliver it up to the officers of the Peishwah.

On the —— of October, I arrived at Sondoor, which the chief surrendered without opposition. On the 7th November, 1817, having repassed the Toombuddra, I directed the reserve, in pursuance of orders from head-quarters, to take up a position beyond the Kistna, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, and proceeded myself to Dharwar to finish the political arrangements with the Mahratta commissioners.

On the 14th November, arrive at Dharwar: learn that the Peishwah has commenced hostilities, and finding that my rejoining the reserve was rendered impracticable by the interposition of the enemy's troops, determine to endeavour to subdue the neighbouring districts, by the influence of a party among the leading inhabitants, and by the aid of a detachment from the garrison of Dharwar, assisted by a body of irregulars collected from the country.

On the —— December, 1817, disperse a body of the enemy's horse, joined by the garrison of Nawlgoond, and take possession of the forts evacuated by the enemy on our approach.

On the —— January, 1818, having been joined by a small battering train from Bellari, lay siege to Guddur, which surrenders on the —— January.

On the —— January, take the fort of Dumbull.

On the —— January, the fort of Hoobley, and on the day following, its dependent fort of Missricottah is given up to a detachment sent to occupy it.

On the —— February, 1818, pass the Malpurbah; and, after routing a body of the enemy's horse and foot near the village of ——, encamped near Badami.

On the 17th February, a practicable breach having been made, storm and carry the place. On the 21st February, take Bagricottah.

On the 10th February, take Padshapoor.

On the 21st March, encamp before Belgamee; and, after a siege of twenty days, take the place by capitulation on the 10th April.

On the 16th April, Kalla Nundilghur is given up to a detachment of irregulars which I sent to invest it.

On the 22d April, rejoin the reserve.

On the 10th May, take the pettah of Sholapoor by assault. Defeat the Peishwah's infantry under Gunput Row, at the battle of Sholapoor.

15th May, take the fort of Sholapoor by capitulation, after a practicable breach had been made.

31st May, encamp before Nepauni, and compel Appah Dessye to give orders for the delivery of Ookarah and other places to the Rajah of Bolapoor.

On the 8th August, 1818, having received the surrender of Paurghur, the last fort held for the Peishwah, resign my command, after having, in the course of the campaign, reduced all the Peishwah's territories between the Toombuddra and Kistna; and from the Kistna northward to Akloos, on the Neemah, and eastward to the Nizam's frontier.

The following contains a general view of his Civil and Military promotions.

CADET	1779.
ENSIGN	October, 1780.
LIEUTENANT . .	11 February, 1786.
BREVET-CAPTAIN . .	7 February, 1796.
CAPTAIN . . .	15 June, 1796.
MAJOR . . .	7 May, 1800.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL . .	24 April, 1804.
COLONEL . . .	15 June, 1815.
BRIGADIER-GENERAL .	December, 1817.
COMPANION OF THE BATH	October, 1818.
MAJOR-GENERAL . .	August, 1819.
K.C.B.	November, 1819.
GOVERNOR OF MADRAS . .	1819.
BARONET	June, 1826.

Ash, near Wingham, Kent,
Nov. 9, 1829.

ERRATA.

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Page 18, *for* ' Haleburton,' *read* ' Haliburton.'
— 43, last line but three from the bottom, *for* ' Colonel Perrie,' *read* ' Colonel Peirce.'
— 44, line 7, *for* ' Pereinbanaum,' *read* ' Perimbaucum.'
— 50, last line but one, *for* ' Chiltore,' *read* ' Chittore.'
— 58, line 7, *for* ' Vezegapatam,' *read* ' Vizagapatam.'
— 96, — 11, *for* ' Gujehatty,' *read* ' Gujelhatty.'
— 103, — 24, *for* ' Kimagerry,' *read* 'Kisnagerry.'
— 127, tenth line from bottom, *for* ' Biddanou,' *read* ' Biddinore.'
— 141, sixth line from bottom, *for* ' nairrated,' *read* ' narrated.'
— 216, line 10, *for* ' Sedashaghee,' *read* ' Ledashegur.'
— 230, last line but one from the bottom, *for* ' Navis,' *read* ' Nairs.'
— 244, last line but one from the bottom, *for* ' Caleroon,' *read* ' Colleroon.'
— 245, line 8, *for* ' Rajniss,' *read* ' Rajahs.'
— 250, six lines from the bottom, *for* ' continued,' *read* ' contrived.'
— 251, seven lines from the bottom, *for* ' conjee,' *read* ' corge.'
— 309, line 6, *for* ' Persian,' *read* ' person.'
— 329, third line from bottom of the letter, *for* ' Ballair,' *read* ' Bellari.'
— 330, line 20, *for* ' Canaul,' *read* ' Canool,'
— 449, lines 12 and 15, *for* ' Mr. Barber,' *read* ' Mr. Baber.'

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THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART. & K.C.B.

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Birth.—Parentage.—Early habits.—Departure from home.

THOMAS MUNRO was born at Glasgow, on the 27th of May, 1761. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Munro, a respectable merchant of that city, and the second of a family which consisted originally of five sons and two daughters; all of whom lived long enough to witness the growing reputation of their relative, whilst the greater number survived to behold it at its height. The maiden name of his mother was Margaret Stark. She derived her descent from the Starks of Kel-

lermont, was the sister of Dr. William Stark, the distinguished anatomist, and, like her husband, possessed excellent talents, a strong judgment, and a cultivated taste; whilst to her many amiable qualities as a wife, a parent, and a friend, all who came within the circle of her acquaintance bear testimony.

It rarely occurs that the infancy even of the most illustrious men, is distinguished by any event worthy of record; and so far the infancy of Sir Thomas Munro followed the ordinary course of nature. He suffered, indeed, severely from the measles, which attacked him at an early age, and affected him with a partial deafness from which he never afterwards recovered; but with this exception, I am not aware of any occurrence, at this stage of his career, deserving of particular notice from his biographer. The case is somewhat different with respect to that interesting period, when the contingencies of a school-life bring the natural character into view, and the bent of the man's genius is, for the most part, pretty accurately pointed out by the proceedings and tastes of the boy. As the early habits of Sir Thomas Munro differed, in many essential particulars, from those of boys in general, it may not be amiss to subjoin here a brief sketch of them.

Young Munro received the rudiments of his education, first at an English day-school, and afterwards, at the Grammar-school of Glasgow; through both which he passed, with the re-

putation of being, if not the most industrious, at all events one of the cleverest lads of his standing. Unlike most youths, he seems to have paid but little attention to his lessons, except during the hours of public business; yet such were his readiness and aptitude of learning, that he always maintained a high station in his class. But it was not in the presence of his tutor only, nor in matters connected with scholastic proceedings properly so called, that Munro especially distinguished himself. Among his companions, he was an object not merely of affection but of respect. A temper singularly mild, a deportment singularly open, a disposition generous to a degree, rarely to be met with, and a lively and cheerful manner, secured for him the former feeling wherever he was known; whilst he possessed in no ordinary extent the qualities fitted to command the latter in that epitome of the great world, a public school. Munro was endowed by nature with a robust frame, great courage, extraordinary agility, and no less extraordinary presence of mind. In every manly and athletic exercise he excelled; and in his knowledge of the pugilistic art, he is admitted to have stood unrivalled. The consequence was, that whenever any enterprise was to be undertaken, beset, or supposed to be beset, with more than common danger, Munro was invariably chosen to be the leader; and he seldom failed, by bringing it to a successful termination, to justify the wisdom of the selection. With all these ad-

vantages, however, of strength and science, Munro was remarkable among his contemporaries, for his placidity and forbearance of temper. In no instance is he known to have provoked a quarrel; in numberless instances has he avoided it; indeed, nothing short of some gross insult or injustice, offered to himself or others, ever induced him to strike a blow. The following extract of a letter from one of his surviving playfellows will place his conduct, in this particular, in its true light.

"I remember," says the writer, "that Sir Thomas was by far the most skilful boxer at school; he beat every boy with whom he fought, even those who were several years older than himself: he was generally known by the name of 'Millie Munro,' and was looked on as unequalled and invincible at milling; but he bore his faculties most meekly. He never sought a quarrel, and never was, in the smallest degree, insolent or domineering. On the contrary, he was remarkably good-natured and peaceable; and his superiority in fighting became known only in consequence of his resisting the unprovoked attacks of quarrelsome boys of superior age and strength, and beating them by his coolness, his courage, and his unequalled endurance. He was the protector of the weak against the strong, and, at the same time, he was so unassuming and inoffensive, that he had no enemies. This is not my opinion only—it was that of all our contemporaries, who are now almost all dead."

At the Grammar-school of Glasgow, young Munro remained until he had entered into his thirteenth year, when he was removed; and after a short interval, spent chiefly in acquiring a knowledge of French, of writing, and arithmetic, he was entered at the College and University of his native city. There he studied mathematics, under Professor Williamson, and chemistry with the celebrated Dr. Irvine, in both of which sciences he made rapid progress; indeed, the latter gentleman has been heard repeatedly to affirm, that he never had under his care a more promising pupil.

Whilst he thus conducted himself in what may, perhaps, be termed public life, young Munro's private pursuits were no less illustrative of the spirit that lay dormant within him. Devoted as he was to every active amusement; an excellent wrestler, a no less excellent runner, leaper, and swimmer, he was equally devoted, as often as opportunity occurred, to reading; and the works which he perused with the deepest interest at each stage of his existence, serve to point out, that from the first, his was a mind of no vulgar conformation. His earliest favourites were Robinson Crusoe, the Lives of the Buccaneers, Anson's Voyages, &c. with other works descriptive of adventure and daring; but as his years increased, these gradually gave place to other and more valuable, though scarcely less exciting, performances. Plutarch's Lives soon attracted his attention; Hume's History of England made large demands

upon him; and Don Quixote became then, as it continued to the last, an especial favourite. It is worthy of remark, that he studied the latter work, not, as is very frequently done by readers of a more advanced age, merely on account of the humour contained in it, but from a clear perception of its real excellences, more especially in the character of the Don, chivalrous and high-minded amid all his eccentricities. So far, indeed, was his admiration of the performance carried, that, without any other assistance besides what a grammar and dictionary afforded, he made himself, at sixteen years of age, master of the Spanish language, in order that he might duly relish those beauties, of which he had been given to understand, that a very imperfect idea could be formed by examining them through the medium of a translation. Nor was his study of the language in which Cervantes wrote, permitted at all to interfere with his other occupations. It was treated by himself as an accomplishment to be acquired at leisure hours only, though so intent was he upon it, that he rose in the winter months several hours before daybreak, lighted his lamp, and sedulously pursued it.

It has been stated that the disposition of Sir Thomas Munro was, from its earliest developement, singularly generous. Of this fact, ample proofs will be exhibited in the course of the following memoir; but it were an act of injustice not to give, at least, one specimen of the mode in which

it operated even now. Not long after he had thus acquired a knowledge of Spanish, he was called upon to translate certain papers found in a prize, which was taken by a ship belonging to a mercantile house in Glasgow. He accomplished his task so much to the satisfaction of the owners, that they presented him with a sum of money in testimony of their regard, which Munro instantly carried to his sister, with a request that she would give it to his mother. He himself, he said, neither had, nor could have, the smallest use for it; and he persisted in refusing, though urgently and repeatedly entreated, to retain even a small portion of it.

For nearly three years young Munro appears to have kept his name upon the College books, during the whole of which period his thirst of knowledge was very remarkable. When he first began to read for his own amusement, his taste leaned, as is usual with spirited boys, to descriptions of war and battles, or to the details of individual heroism and endurance. By degrees, however, he looked beyond such points, and delighted to examine the principles upon which men acted, not less than to peruse the details of actions themselves. He now studied Plutarch, not more with a view to watch the fortunes of Alexander in the field, than to trace the motives which led him there, and the system on which he pursued his conquests. In like manner, he found in the Lives of Licurgus and Numa, matter not less in-

teresting than in those of Theseus and Romulus; whilst the comparisons which the biographer draws between one of his heroes and another, furnished ample food for reflection to his youthful admirer. The case was precisely similar in Munro's examination of historical works. He no longer read Hume for the sake of his spirited details of the wars of the two Roses, or the grand rebellion, but relished him to the full as much, when treating of the state of knowledge at different epochs, and the progress of commerce and civilization, as when describing personal rencontres, or hair-breadth escapes. Nevertheless, his general line of study evinced a decided predilection for the military art, regarded as something more important than the mere routine of a subaltern's life. He perused with avidity the histories of more modern times,—narratives of the wars in the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne, of the campaigns of the great Frederick, and the events which preceded them; whilst the policy which guided the several powers, in their alliances and disagreements, their views in prosecuting and abandoning the contest,—these, with the general tactics of Frederick himself, political as well as military, furnished him with wide scope for study. He read history, in short, no longer for amusement, but for instruction; and by making himself acquainted with the motives which guided men in other times, obtained no imperfect insight into those which were likely to actuate them in his own.

It is not, however, to be imagined, that young Munro gave himself up so entirely to these researches, as to be insensible to the charms of poetry, or the beauties of romance. To both he was keenly alive, as his enthusiastic admiration of Shakspeare and Spencer, and, above all, of the poetical portions of the Bible, may prove; indeed, his mind appears to have been so constituted, as to be able to comprehend and to enjoy whatever was really excellent, in every species of literary composition. The following fact will, it is presumed, abundantly testify to the truth of this assertion. The same individual who delighted in the grave but spirited details of Plutarch and Hume, and was enraptured with the description of Titania's Bower, or Una's "Gentle Knight," devoured with intense interest Smith's Wealth of Nations; which he laid aside, that he might for a time forget its very existence, whilst following the Don in his adventures, or laughing over the eccentricities of Roderic Random. Yet, with all his love of reading, Munro ceased not to love his sports, and to engage in them with an avidity rarely equalled; indeed, the stranger who saw him only with a fishing-rod in his hand, or "with lusty arm buffeting the wave," could have hardly been persuaded to believe, that he ever gave a thought to other occupations.

Though born and educated in Glasgow, Munro was not denied the opportunity of indulging in those rural occupations to which his manly and

ingenuous temperament impelled him. His father rented a villa, called Northwoodside, beautifully situated up the Kelvin, and distant about two miles, or perhaps something more, from the city, whither the family was in the habit of removing every summer, and where young Munro spent most of his vacations. The house was an old-fashioned pile, surrounded by a court-yard, into which, after passing through an avenue of venerable trees, admission was obtained by a massy iron gate. Behind it was a garden, which overhung the bed of the Kelvin, and commanded a delightful view of the wooded and broken banks which girdle in that romantic stream; whilst not far removed was a pool, or mill-dam, known by the name of Jackson's Dam, and frequently referred to in the course of the following correspondence. To the whole family, this spot was peculiarly dear, inasmuch as it originally belonged to Mrs. Munro's maternal grandfather; but by none was a temporary residence there more intensely enjoyed, than by the subject of this memoir. Keenly and sensitively alive to every thing grand or beautiful in nature, young Munro appeared to enter upon a new state of being, as often as he visited it. If he read, it was either seated upon a rustic bench which stood beneath a tall tree in the garden, or perched among the highest branches of the tree itself. If a fit of idleness took him, he indulged it by rambling, sometimes from sun-

rise till nightfall, among the woods; or he would fish the Kelvin with his brothers or companions; and, when weary of that amusement, would refresh himself by swimming in the dam. The latter, indeed, seems to have been with him a very favourite exercise; and the consequence was, that he particularly excelled in it.

In this manner, time passed away, till young Munro attained to the age of sixteen; when his father, who designed him for the mercantile profession, obtained for him a situation in the counting-house of Messrs. Somerville and Gordon, one of the most extensive West-India houses in Glasgow. The above event took place in 1777, when the American war was at its height, and Glasgow, among other loyal towns, deemed it expedient to furnish men for the public service. Upon this occasion, the magistrates, who were not unacquainted with Mr. Munro's military propensities, made him a tender of a Lieutenancy in the corps which they were raising. Had the right of choice been left to himself, Munro would have gladly grasped at the proposal; and his rise in the King's service would have been, without a doubt, as rapid as his merits must have become speedily conspicuous; but no such power was given to him. His father expressed himself strongly opposed to the measure, and Munro was too dutiful a son to thwart a parent's wishes, even though at the expense of a serious sacrifice of his own.

He accordingly closed his ears against the whispers of ambition, and continued at his desk without repining, for about two years longer.

It has been stated, that Mr. Alexander Munro, the father of Sir Thomas, was a merchant, and that his dealings were extensive. These were carried on chiefly with Virginia, and for many years were attended with the greatest success; but the breaking out of the troubles gradually plunged him into difficulties, which the Act of Confiscation, passed by the Congress of the United States in 1776, brought to a head. Mr. Munro's affairs became, through no fault of his own, completely involved. The house of which he was a partner stopped payment; and he himself, from a state of affluence, fell into comparative poverty. How nobly his sons in general, and the subject of the present memoir in particular, behaved towards their parents under this reverse of circumstances, the reader will discover for himself as he proceeds.

It seems to have been the anxious wish of Mr. Munro, to establish his son Thomas in business in Glasgow; with which view he struggled hard, notwithstanding his own embarrassments, to retain him in his situation; but in the year 1779, the effort was found to be beyond his means, and was abandoned. The reader need scarcely be informed, that India, in those days, was looked upon as a Land of Promise, where every European must of necessity make a fortune, no matter

what the nature of his acquirements, or the extent of his talents might be; and as Munro's abilities were well known to his father, and justly valued by him, the latter not unnaturally concluded, that in such a theatre, his son's success was certain. It was accordingly proposed to send him thither; and the plan corresponding well with the bold and adventurous spirit of the youth, he very readily entered into it. There does not appear to have been any difficulty found in procuring for him an appointment; he was rated as a midshipman on board the Company's ship Walpole, Captain Abercrombie, and on the 20th of February, 1779, quitted home, a solitary adventurer, to push his way through life.

Mr. Munro was well received by his friends in London, and, by their assistance, was speedily supplied with such necessaries as were deemed essential to his comforts. Among these was included an article of dress now rarely to be met with, though then considered indispensable in the equipment of a gentleman,—I mean a cue, or false tail, with which, as he had not hitherto worn one, he seems to have been exceedingly amused.* But he buckled it on according to established usage, displayed it with great apparent indifference, and

* His expression is, "I got a false tail next morning. George Brown says it is one of the handsomest in London. I must own it is perfectly genteel; it is exactly the size and shape of a farthing candle."

in due time proceeded, in his novel attire, to join his ship at Deptford.

Our midshipman had not occupied his berth many weeks, when a revolution was effected in the nature of his prospects, not, as may well be credited, in any respect disagreeable to a youth of aspiring mind and brilliant military genius. His father, who had been deputed by the Glasgow merchants to lay their claims of indemnity for losses sustained during the war, before the Government, arrived at this time in London; and being acquainted with Mr. Lawrence Sullivan, one of the Directors of the East India Company, procured from him a Cadetship for his son. With this he hastened to Deptford, and presenting it to Thomas, on board of the Walpole, was made happy by discovering, that he could not have wrought a more acceptable work. But though Mr. Munro readily accepted the appointment, such was his abhorrence of a life of sheer idleness, that he continued voluntarily to perform the duties of a midshipman; and he persisted in thus employing himself during a considerable portion of the voyage, till certain military officers, who took their passage in the Walpole, and to whom he was personally known, at last prevailed upon him to quit the cockpit, and join the Cadets' mess. His account of a Midshipman's career is not however, it must be confessed, of a very captivating nature. After stating, in one of his letters to his father, that the duties were more severe, and the hard-

ships more numerous, than he expected to find them, he goes on to say, "Roderick Random's is a very just description of a seaman's life; he got a wig, and I cut my hair, both for the same reason. There is one thing, however, in which I think he is wrong; he says, that in attempting to leap into his hammock, he threw himself over it. I tried this method; but, instead of throwing myself over, I hit one of the beams such a thump with my head, that I thought I had fractured my skull."

Nothing has yet been said of the friendships which Mr. Munro contracted, or the intimacies which he formed in early life. From what has been stated of his peculiar habits and temper, the reader will easily believe that his circle of acquaintance was wide; but there was a degree of prudence about him which hindered him, even in boyhood, from indiscriminately lavishing his regards upon every playfellow. As a lad, the individuals whom he honoured with his confidence, may be enumerated within a very narrow compass; they included few, if any persons, besides the sons of Dr. Moore, the celebrated author of *Zeluco*, and the late Mr. George Brown, of Russell-square, London; but his confidence, once bestowed, was little likely to be withdrawn, inasmuch as he was particularly careful that none should obtain who were not worthy of it. With Mr. Brown he kept up a constant and unrestrained correspondence to the day of his death. From the Moores, however, circumstances early divided

him; and though he and the gallant Sir John entertained for each other an undiminished respect, they met but casually in after-life; with Sir Graham Moore, on the contrary, his boyish intimacy was renewed on his return to England in 1808, and continued, with increasing regard and esteem, to the last.

Before concluding this brief account of the early life of Sir Thomas Munro, it may not be out of place to record a somewhat uncommon occurrence which befell many years after. There happened to be in the same counting-house with himself, when his attention was directed to commercial pursuits, two young gentlemen named James Dunlop and William Wallace.* These exchanged the pen for the sword, about the period when the subject of this memoir set out to join the Walpole, and the three adventurers met again, for the first time, under the walls of Seringapatam, in 1799, each holding a high and responsible situation in the army employed in the reduction of that city.

* Afterwards General James Dunlop, and Colonel William Wallace.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival in India.—First introduction to the Society at Madras.—Early Campaigns against Hyder Ally.—Private Correspondence.—War with Tippoo.—Employment in the Intelligence Department.—Operations in the Mysore country.—Attack upon Tippoo's lines.

AMONG other measures adopted with the view of furthering Mr. Munro's prospects in life, his relatives, with praiseworthy industry, exerted themselves in procuring a number of recommendatory epistles to influential persons at Madras. With these he reached his place of destination in safety, on the 15th of January, 1780; and having delivered his credentials to such individuals as chanced to be within reach, he received from most of them a very hospitable reception. But it soon appeared in this instance, as it appears in others, that friends are not to be made by the magical influence of letters of introduction. Mr. Munro met with much civility; he was invited to dine with one functionary, to breakfast with another, and to sup with a third; but it does not appear that the attentions of his

new patrons extended farther. The consequence was, that Mr. Munro, whose taste as well as the state of his finances, rendered a frequent attendance on gay parties the reverse of agreeable, gradually withdrew himself from company, and confined his social rambles within a circle of a few persons whose genuine kindness of heart won his esteem. Among these there were two in particular, Mr. Haleburton and Mr. Alexander Ross, of whom, in his early correspondence, he makes frequent mention, and for whom he entertained to the last a high degree of respect.

I regret extremely that my limits will not permit the insertion of any letters addressed at this period by Mr. Munro to different members of his family. Though written, as might be expected, in an inartificial style, they contain several ludicrous details of adventures, and sketch the society of Madras in a manner not unworthy of the pen of a Smollet, or the pencil of a Hogarth. Among other matters, they describe his reception by the Commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, "who said he would be happy to serve me, but was sorry it was not in his power to do any thing for me." Whilst a lady who was present, demanded—"Are you from Glasgow?"—"Yes."—"Are you a son of John Munro?"—"No."—"Of Ebenezer's, then?"—"No."—"Lord help me! whose son are you then?" They mention likewise his acquaintance with one Dr. Kænig, a Livonian naturalist, with whom he held many

learned discussions; and record a variety of laughable anecdotes, touching the advices bestowed upon him by persons more liberal of advice than of any thing besides. But amusing as they are, they must of necessity be suppressed, rather because of the superior interest attached to others, than through any lack of merit in themselves. Let it suffice therefore to state, that for six months Mr. Munro abode at the Presidency, doing duty, with other cadets, in the fort, and dividing his leisure time between a study of the native languages, and the society of his friends. But a wider field was already before him on which to exercise his talents; and into that, as soon as circumstances permitted, he made haste to enter.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that the annals of British sovereignty in the East offer no parallel to the critical situation of affairs, during the spring and summer of 1780. Hyder Ally, one of the most absolute monarchs and consummate generals of his age, disgusted with the political tergiversations of the English, had for some time previously linked his fortunes with their rivals, and now threatened, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, in which was numbered a corps of Europeans, under Monsieur Lally, to carry fire and sword into the Carnatic. The members of the Madras government, in the mean while, at variance among themselves, took no steps whatever to

meet the threatened danger, but wasted, in mean and mischievous cabals, time which ought to have been employed to widely different purposes. Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Governor, and Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-chief, applied the whole powers of their mind to maintain a superiority over the other members of the council, who, on their part, thought a great deal more of thwarting the designs of these functionaries, than of providing for the safety of the colony. It is true, that Pondicherry was taken; that the fall of Mahé, by depriving the French of their last harbour, had annihilated the independent power of that nation on the Continent; and that the strongholds of Vellore, Arcot, and Wandiwash, were all occupied by British garrisons; but these posts were too far removed the one from the other, to permit any intimate communication between them, in the event of an enemy obtaining even a temporary superiority in the field. In like manner, the Madras army was so distributed, as to render it to all intents and purposes inefficient. One detachment, originally commanded by Colonel Harpur, and now under the orders of Colonel Baillie, was beyond the Kistna, at a remote distance from head-quarters: the remainder were scattered in petty garrisons, over a wide extent of country; whilst the treasury, which ought to have been well supplied, was found in so miserable a plight, that funds for raising recruits

were wanting. Yet could the men, whose duty it was to provide against emergencies, continue to write and act as if none such were near, though warned, so early as November, 1779, that the Nizam had joined the confederacy against them, and that the expulsion of the English from India was determined on.

It were out of place, in a work like the present, to enter into a detailed or critical examination of the mode in which affairs were managed at that juncture. It is sufficient to observe, that so late as the month of June, 1780, long after Hyder had completed his preparations, no measures were adopted by the Madras government, having a reference to war; and that then the only order issued was for Colonel Baillie to cross the Kistna, that he might be more in readiness "in case of any disturbance in the Carnatic." The same supineness prevailed up to the 19th of that month, when intelligence was received from the officer in command at Vellore, that Hyder had begun his march from Seringapatam, and that a formidable force was collected at Bangalore. Then, indeed, the alarm seems to have been taken: but it was not till nearly another precious month had been wasted, —till Arcot was besieged, and "black columns of smoke were every where in view from St. Thomas's Mount," that any serious efforts were made to draw an army together. Nor is this all:— every one acquainted with Indian history must be aware of the extreme infatuation which guided

the councils of our countrymen even then. Instead of making choice of some centrical situation within easy march of the capital, where the scattered detachments from all quarters might assemble, Conjeveram, a place forty miles in advance, was selected as the point d'appui; and thither Colonel Baillie was directed to proceed, by a route which carried him full fifty miles through a country every where hostile. The following letter from Mr. Munro to his father, gives a connected narrative of the operations which followed, whilst it evinces how perfectly habits of sound and accurate reasoning were natural, if I may so speak, to the writer.

Camp near Marmelong, 11th October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I MENTIONED to you in my last how my acquaintance with Mr. Ross began. By his advice, I remained at Madras till the end of July, when intelligence being received that three thousand Mysore horse had burnt Porto Novo, and that Tippoo Saheb, Hyder's eldest son, with a large body under his command, was laying waste the country, a camp was formed at Mount St. Thomas, nine miles from Madras.

In the last treaty between Hyder and the Company, it was stipulated, that in case his dominions were attacked by any foreign enemy, they should furnish him with seven battalions of sepoys. A few years ago, when his country was invaded by the Mahrattas, they did not send a man to his assistance. As he was then unable to express his resentment, he resolved to conceal it till a more convenient time.

Seeing the Company engaged in a tedious war with the same people against whom they had formerly refused to assist him, (the Mahrattas,) he entered the Carnatic in July last, at the head of a powerful army, determined to avenge the insults he had suffered.

The government here being at length convinced, by the burning of the villages around, and the country people daily flocking in multitudes to Madras, that Hyder had passed the mountains, they prepared to oppose him. General Munro was ordered to take the command of the army, and, at the same time, instructions were sent to the northward to Colonel Baillie, to march with his detachment and join the main body.

On the 25th of August, Munro took the field at the head of fourteen hundred Europeans and three thousand sepoys, with thirty-two field-pieces; and on the 29th he arrived at Conjeveram.

Hyder, on the first intelligence of his march, raised the siege of Arcot, and threw himself between the two armies. He took post about four miles in front of Munro's camp.

Baillie had advanced within fourteen miles of the main army, when, on the 6th of September, he was attacked by ten thousand men, the flower of the enemy's forces, whom he forced to retreat, leaving six hundred dead on the spot.

On the 8th, the grenadier and light infantry companies of Macleod's regiment, two hundred Europeans, and nine hundred sepoy grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, were ordered to join Baillie, which they effected next morning.

The General, having intelligence that Hyder intended marching two hours after sunset, and that Baillie would advance about the same hour, ordered the tents to be struck, and to be sent along with the baggage into Conjeveram Pagoda. Next morning he went to meet the de-

tachment. He had arrived at the side of a lake, where he was making a road for the guns, when a sepoy, all covered with wounds, brought advice of its defeat.

Baillie had marched at twelve o'clock at night:—three hours after, his advanced guard was attacked by the enemy's European infantry, who were placed in a grove upon the side of the road; and, at the same time, the horse rushed on to the charge. He repulsed them in every attack, and they had already begun to despair of success, when three of his tumbrils blowing up, in the midst of the confusion produced by the accident, his ammunition being expended, they made another furious charge, broke his ranks, and cut them in pieces; nor did they cease after the few who still survived had thrown down their arms.—Colonel Fletcher, holding up his handkerchief on the point of his sword, as a signal for quarter, was wounded in the arm; and, wrapping the handkerchief round it, he received a cut across the belly—his bowels dropped out, and he fell dead from his horse.

The slaughter continued, till Mr. Lally rode up to Hyder, and told him that it was not the custom of Europeans to cut their enemies to pieces after they had surrendered themselves; and that such inhumanity would be highly resented by the Frenchmen under his command. Upon this the Mysorean ordered his soldiers to cease. Two hundred and fifty Europeans and a thousand sepoys were all that remained; the rest, to the amount of two thousand, fell on the field of battle.

Hyder paid dear for his victory,—many of his best officers, and seven thousand of his bravest troops, were slain.

General Munro, as soon as he learned this event, retreated to Conjeveram, and next morning, before daybreak, he continued his march to Chingleput, where he arrived the following day. In the hurry of the retreat, the greatest part of the baggage and ammunition fell into

the hands of the enemy. By mistake, Lord Macleod was not awaked till two hours after the army had marched; his baggage, with his bureau and all his papers, were taken. Among them was a plan for the reduction of Hyder's dominions.

The army was quite exhausted on its arrival at Chingleput. Above two hundred Highlanders dropped down from the fatigue of a long march of thirty miles in a sultry day, rendered still more intolerable by the heat and smoke of the villages to which the enemy had set fire, and through which we were obliged to pass. On the 13th, at sunset, we pursued our way to the Mount, where we arrived next day, after marching thirty-six miles without any refreshment.

The Chingleput hills and the groves which bordered the road protected us from the Ludiwals, a species of irregular horsemen, who, instead of receiving money from Hyder, pay him so much monthly for being permitted to plunder the territories of his enemies: multitudes of them always follow our armies, to cut off our baggage, and set fire to the villages which lie in our way, but they seldom come within reach of our guns.

15th. We marched to Marmelong, a village six miles from Madras, where we now remain encamped, in expectation of assistance from Bengal to enable us to take the field in the beginning of the year; and, if they arrive before the middle of the month, to make a second attempt to raise the siege of Arcot.

The loss of Colonel Baillie's army is the severest blow the English ever sustained in India. Some persons pretend to vindicate Munro, but by far the greater part impute to his imprudent conduct the destruction of the detachment. Why, say they, did he linger so long within a few miles of Baillie, without attempting to join him? Why, instead of sending the grenadiers, did he not go with the whole

army? And why, when he saw Hyder march, did he not follow him instantly, in place of waiting till the morning? On the other hand, it is said, that it was reasonable for him to conjecture, that as Baillie had been able, without any assistance, to repulse the enemy, he would be still more able to do so again, after being so powerfully reinforced; and that by sending a detachment, had it succeeded, he would have lost less time than by going with the whole army.

It is said, that * * *,* * * * suggested the design of dividing the army, contrary to the opinion of Lord Macleod and all the old officers; as he was afraid, that when Baillie joined, the command of the grenadiers would be taken from him and given to that officer, which he thought would not be done after he had commanded them in an action.

The General, by paying his spies too sparingly, received very little, and often false, intelligence; he neither rewarded those who told the truth, nor did he punish those who deceived him. One day upon the march, a Hircarrah came up, and delivered him a letter from Colonel Baillie; he read it; he seemed pleased with the contents; and he ordered his Dubash to give the messenger two pagodas (sixteen shillings);—the man smiled,—it was a poor reward for having received two wounds, and risked his life in bringing him intelligence.

On our way to join the detachment, three men, who were found sitting near the road, were brought to the General:—he told them, if they would carry him to Baillie, he would reward them; but if they should misguide him, he would instantly put them to death. They walked at the head of the army, with halters about their necks; and they conducted us to the side of a lake, where the road terminated. The General followed them, notwithstanding it was obvious to every one, that they were carrying us

away from the scene of action, as we heard the firing, and saw the smoke of the cannon near four miles distant, in a different direction. These men were suffered to escape.

Lord Macleod wrote to Hyder, desiring to know which of his officers, and how many of his men, were prisoners; and also that he would order his bureau to be restored, there being some papers in it which could be of no consequence to any person but himself.

Hyder wrote him in return, but took no notice of either the officers or men. He only mentioned that Baillie was his prisoner; that Fletcher was killed; and that as to the bureau, had he commanded a small army, it might have been recovered: but where he was at the head of a hundred thousand horse, such things as these could never come to his knowledge: he concluded with saying, that it was well for us we had made such speed, for had he come up with us, he would have cut us to pieces.

You may think I might have saved myself a great deal of labour, in making such a long dissertation on matters which you may think of very little importance; the only excuse I have to make is, that by continually talking on the same subject with every person, my head is so filled with it, that I can think of nothing else. There are just now six or seven fellows in the tent, very gravely disputing whether Hyder is, or is not, the person commonly called in Europe the Great Mogul.

The next letter is to his mother; and as it carries on the detail of events in their natural order, I subjoin it without any observations of my own.

DEAR MOTHER,

AFTER the defeat of Colonel Baillie's army, Hyder returned to the siege of Arcot; he took the pettah by storm on the 1st of November, and the fort surrendered

four hours after. Captain Pendergrass commanded; but being disabled by a wound towards the end of the siege, he was succeeded by Captain Du Pont, who delivered up the place. He says he was forced to it by the Nabob's people refusing to fight. But Nanjif Chan, the Nabob's resident, told Sir Eyre Coote, that the people under his command gave every assistance in their power, and would have continued to do so, had the siege lasted longer; that he set before the commandant the disgrace he would bring upon the Company's arms, by surrendering without necessity a place to which the richest inhabitants of the Carnatic, with their most precious effects, had fled for protection; that every consideration ought to induce him to hold out to extremity—the approaching rains, and the probability of being relieved by the army;—but his remonstrances were disregarded, and Arcot, with its grand magazine of military stores, was abandoned to the enemy.

Though the pettah was taken by storm, Hyder treated the inhabitants with humanity: he permitted no plundering. Every man was continued in the enjoyment of his fortune; and all who had held places under the Nabob, retained them under him. He gave the English officers money; and he presented one of them with three beautiful horses, and a purse of one thousand rupees.

Sir E. Coote, with half a battalion of Europeans, arrived in the beginning of the month from Bengal,—the remainder, with the artillery, are daily expected. Six thousand sepoys are on their march overland. The army went into cantonments on the 15th: our battalion, which belongs to the left, is quartered at St. Thome, a large village, situated on the sea-shore, four miles below Madras. When the Portuguese were powerful in India, it was a place of considerable consequence; no traces of its former masters now remain, but five or six desolate churches, and the old ensign-staff "nodding o'er the beach." The inhabitants

consist chiefly of a mixed race, descended from the ancient Portuguese, and a few of the meanest of the natives, converts to Christianity: they are directed by a bishop and two priests, who are exceedingly zealous in their labours; but the land is barren. I was appointed an ensign in October; date of rank, 20th May, 1779.

Your affectionate son,

(Signed) T. MUNRO.

St. Thome,
26th Nov. 1780.

From the date of this letter, up to the 15th of December following, the battalion to which Mr. Munro was attached (the 16th Madras Native Infantry) continued to occupy its cantonment in St. Thome. The arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, however, infused new vigour into the government, which made great exertions to collect the means of transport for a fresh campaign; and though these came not up, and could not possibly come up to the ordinary standard of efficiency, no time was lost in turning them to account.

The following journal, transmitted by Mr. Munro to his father, and dated from the Camp at St. Thomas's Mount, 2d October, 1782, gives a description so vivid of the operations which followed, that I am induced to insert it entire. It was written chiefly by night, when, to use the words of the writer, "I was almost as much plagued by swarms of troublesome insects flying about the candle, and getting into my hair and eyes, and under my shirt collar, as I would have been by the enemy." Yet, long as it is, and illustrative of so many and

such complicated details, the original copy presents scarcely a single mark of obliteration:—

DEAR SIR,

IN your letter of May 1781, you desire me to give you some account of our wars here. I certainly would have prevented your request, had I imagined that, while you are so deeply interested in the fate of America, you could have paid any attention to the disputes in India:—besides, I had not forgotten what wrong notions people at home entertain of Hyder. I did not dare to mention things as they really were, lest you should have said that we made a great deal of noise about routing a parcel of blackamoors. As a politician and a soldier, it would be doing Hyder injustice to look upon him in the same light as other Eastern princes; his army is not only formidable by their numbers, but by the bravery of the adventurers that crowded to his standard from every corner of India, on the fame of his intended invasion, as well as by a great body of infantry disciplined by Europeans, and accompanied by an excellent train of artillery.

The newspapers say that a Committee of the House of Commons is appointed to inquire into the causes of Hyder Ally's irruption, and the extent of that calamity. It has extended so far, that there is not a human being to be seen in the country,—the only inhabitants are the garrisons of the forts, and the British and Mysorean armies.

After General Munro's retreat from Conjeveram, Hyder's first care was to drive away all the cattle, and to lay waste the country; in which he succeeded so well, that the want of carriage-bullocks has ever since been one of the chief obstacles to all our operations. As most of the forts were at this time garrisoned by the Nabob's troops, and he had long before gained the commandants, they surrendered at the first summons; but, what was of more consequence

than all the rest, Arcot capitulated on the 2d of November, and was followed by the submission of Bom Rauze, and many lesser poligars, who joined his army with all their dependents. As they were unskilled in war, they were of little service in the field; but their country made ample amends, by supplying his troops with all kinds of provisions.

Had Arcot been defended with spirit, it might have held out till the army could have marched to its relief. It was garrisoned by a hundred and fifty Europeans, besides sepoys. Two breaches were made in the pettah wall, and both stormed; but so faintly, that it ought rather to have encouraged the garrison to perseverance, than terrified them into surrender.

The loss of the capital made a great impression on all the country powers; for, though the defeat of Colonel Baillie had convinced them how formidable he was in the field, they had hitherto held in the utmost contempt his capacity for conducting a siege.

After the fall of Arcot, Hyder, with the main body of his army, sat down before Vellore, whilst detachments invested Wandiwash and Permacoil.

It was at this time that Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal: the force he brought with him consisted of four hundred European infantry, and two companies of artillery. The army, which since the retreat from Conjeveram, had been encamped in a strong situation at Marmelong, a village about six miles from Madras, was permitted to go into cantonments in the middle of November, after having been exposed to the most violent and continued rains for fifteen days, and when the face of the country was so much covered with water, that they could no longer be regularly supplied.

The troops marched out of cantonments, and encamped at the Mount, the 15th of December. Small parties of horse that continually hovered round the camp, drove

away all the cattle that strayed beyond the outposts; so that when we marched on the 16th of January to the relief of Wandiwash, it was with the greatest difficulty that a sufficient number could be collected to carry the grain and military stores necessary for the expedition.

The army, when it marched from the Mount, was composed of one thousand four hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoys, and eight hundred black cavalry, attended by a train of sixty pieces of cannon.

General Coote halted on the 18th, on the south bank of the Palaur, four miles from Chingleput.

On the night of the 19th, Captain Davis was detached with three battalions of sepoys to surprise Carrangoly, a fort ten miles distant. By some unforeseen delay, he did not get there till after sunrise; but this did not make him lay aside his design. Leaving a battalion in the rear as a reserve, and placing some parties to fire against the parapet, he with the rest advanced directly towards the gate. A wet ditch had been carried round the place, except where a causeway was left opposite to the entrance. Over this Captain Davis brought two guns, with which he burst open the outer gate, and advanced immediately through a passage with many windings to the second. Though confined in a small space, and exposed to a shower of musketry on every side from the works above, the artillerymen proceeded coolly in their work, and with the second shot made a large breach. The first party that entered was fired on by a party headed by the Killidaur, who then threw down their arms, and received quarter; but by far the greater part escaped by the opposite side of the fort, where there was little water in the ditch. The garrison amounted to one thousand two hundred men; but only three hundred, with the Killidaur, were made prisoners.

Four officers of the detachment were wounded. Ten

artillerymen out of twelve, and eighty sepoys were killed or wounded.

Nothing of consequence was found here, except a considerable quantity of grain.

This place, which, while in possession of the English, had been overgrown with weeds, was now in a tolerable state of defence: the ruinous parts of the walls were repaired, and a new parapet carried round the rampart.

The army arrived at Wandiwash on the 24th of January: the siege was raised the day before. The enemy's force amounted to twelve thousand horse, and four thousand foot.

Mheer Saheb, who commanded them, moved about fifteen miles, and then halted to observe our motions; which he continued ever after to do, without once quitting us, till the day of his death.

He invested this place in the beginning of December, and the latter end of the same month opened a battery of four twenty-four pounders, within three hundred yards of the wall. The fire of the fort was so much better directed, that after ten days he had done little more than demolish part of the parapet, which the garrison soon supplied with a stronger one of gabions and the trunks of Palmyra trees. The walls, like those of most of the forts of this country, were built of so hard a species of stone, that it was a considerable time before the shot made any impression.

A party from the garrison, under the command of a black officer, sallied on the 10th of January, surprised the battery, and spiked the guns so completely, that they could never afterwards be used. Upon this, another approach was carried on to the edge of the ditch, where a four-gun battery was raised, which was to have been opened the day the army arrived.

The garrison was composed of a hundred of the Com-

pany's sepoys, and near double that number of the Nabob's. Lieutenant Flint, who commanded, was much admired for his activity and the judgment he had shown in the defence; and he deserved as much praise for what he intended to have done, as for what he really performed. He cut off an angle of the fort, which was more elevated than the rest; he mounted guns upon it, and laid in a stock of water and provisions, so that had he been obliged to abandon the body of the place, he was to have retired to this post, and to have defended it some days longer.

It was here that the General received information of Hyder's having raised the siege of Vellore. The Mysorean army, which encamped before it on the 14th of December, was commanded by Mahomed Ally: Hyder himself remained at Arcot.

Vellore is situated at the entrance of the Amboor valley, which leads to one of the principal passes into Mysore, and all convoys coming this way must pass in sight of it; for which reason, a strong guard was always requisite to prevent their being intercepted by the garrison. It was chiefly the dread of this that determined Hyder to attack it. The force that Colonel Lang had to defend it with was two hundred and fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoys, besides a rabble of one thousand two hundred Nabob's troops, and poligars.

The fortifications were built by the Mahrattas more than two hundred years ago. The walls were formed of the same hard stone which had been used at Wandiwash. The stones were three or four feet thick, and eighteen or twenty long, and were placed end-ways. The ditch which surrounded it was two hundred feet broad, and fifteen or twenty deep. Two miles to the right of the fort were three fortified hills. A six-pounder from the nearest threw a shot three hundred yards over the opposite rampart. It was against this that the enemy directed their attack.

They began their approaches near a mile from the foot of the wall. Nothing but their numbers could ever have accomplished a work of such amazing labour: the soil on the hills was so thin that they could not make trenches, but were obliged to advance under cover of a wall of gabions, and to fill them they had to bring earth from the plain below. They met many large fragments of rocks in their way. They undermined some, and rolled them down the hill; and those they could not manage they avoided by making a sweep round them. In three weeks they had got the better of all these obstacles, and raised a battery, which in a few days demolished one of the angles of the fort. They at the same time raised another on an eminence which overlooked the place; and the garrison, having only a few small guns, could neither return their fire, nor show themselves in the daytime. They laboured hard during the night in cutting off the ruined angle, by a deep trench with a breastwork behind it. On the night of the 10th of January, the enemy, headed by Mahomed Ally in person, made two attacks, and in both were repulsed with great loss.

It was surprising that Hyder, after raising the siege of Vellore, did not hasten to engage the English army before it was reinforced. Had he been so inclined, he had time enough to have overtaken it, as it lay three days at Wandiwash. Perhaps the high military character of General Coote made him doubtful of success.

On the 28th we were on the road to Pondicherry, when the General was informed by an express, that a French fleet had appeared off Madras. It was necessary that the army should be at hand to oppose their landing any troops. Carrangooly was thought the most proper place, being halfway between Pondicherry and Madras. The General encamped there two days after, and remained till he received advice that the fleet was gone to the southward, and that

it had no land forces on board; he then continued his march to Pondicherry, where he arrived in the beginning of February, and found the French at anchor in the roads.

On the 6th, in the morning, he went to see some artillery destroyed, which had been left here ever since the siege of 1778. He was not gone above half an hour, when Hyder's army appeared in sight of the camp, marching towards Cuddalore. He returned instantly, and detached two battalions to secure the passage of the Ariancopang river; but as three battalions, and the greater part of the followers and cattle were in town, it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the army marched. The two armies took different roads, which ran in the same direction, at the distance of a mile from one another. The enemy kept up a constant cannonade the whole night; but to very little purpose, for they either fired too high or so low, that the shot sank into the rice-fields which lay between the two roads. General Coote reached Cuddalore at break of day, with the loss of an officer and twenty men.

It seems to have been Hyder's intention, by this rapid march, to have gained possession of the bound-hedge, where the English army must either have fought him under every disadvantage, or abandoned the place to his mercy. After the General had prevented the execution of this scheme, he found himself involved in the greatest distress from the want of provisions; for all that had been brought from Madras were now consumed, and the whole that could be collected in Cuddalore could not serve more than two days. But he was soon relieved from his anxiety on this account, for Hyder not choosing to comply with the demands of the French for money, they sailed from the coast the following day, and left the navigation open to Madras, from whence supplies were immediately sent to camp.

On the 8th of February, the day after the departure of

the squadron, General Coote drew up in front of the bound-hedge, and offered Hyder battle, which he very properly declined, as the position of the English army was so strong that it did not afford him the smallest hope of success. He therefore continued his march to the southward, whilst the English returned to their encampments within the bound-hedge.

During the five months that the army remained at Cuddalore, they received rice from Madras, but were obliged to find beef and mutton the best way they could. This was attended with much labour, the enemy having swept away all the flocks and herds, except a few that ran wild in the woods. The little excursions in quest of them were the most fatiguing duties of the campaign. Sepoys only were sent upon them. The detachment was usually composed of three or four battalions, which set out from camp an hour or two after sunset; they marched all night, and reached their destination by noon the day following. After having collected what cattle they could find, and halted an hour or two to refresh themselves, they hastened back to camp, where they arrived next morning, fatigued beyond any thing that can be conceived, except by those who have felt it. Mheer Saheb, with the army of observation, lay at Trividi, a village fifteen miles west of Cuddalore, from whence he detached small bodies of horse on every side to hinder any supplies from the country passing to the English camp. Parties were frequently sent to surprise them, and most commonly, when there was any prospect of success, commanded by Colonel ——. Yet, notwithstanding this advantage, he was seldom so fortunate in his expeditions as might have been expected. I shall only mention one instance, which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

One morning, a little before day, he came so suddenly upon one of the advanced sentries belonging to a party of horse, that the fellows immediately rode off across the

country, without having recollection enough to alarm their comrades. The Colonel continued to advance till he got so near the main body, that he could see that all was quiet, except a few that were sitting smoking round some little fires they had kindled. Here he halted, and sent to the rear for the guns; and whilst they were coming, he drew up the troops, as well as the darkness and the ground would admit, with about one-third of them above the knees in mud. The guns came up, and began a heavy fire both of round and grape. When it had continued ten minutes, the line advanced to take advantage of the confusion into which it was not doubted the enemy must be thrown by such a battery; but they did not think that it would be convenient to stay to judge of the effect of the fire; and the Colonel, entering their camp by storm, found nothing but a few horses sick, which the enemy, in their retreat, were obliged to abandon to his fury. The Colonel was not more successful in any of his other expeditions. He failed by not adhering to his original plan of attack, and by substituting a worse in the moment of decision.

Whilst General Coote carried on this petty war about Cuddalore, Hyder made himself master of Ambore and Thiagur, in the Carnatic; and of all Tanjore but the capital. We must, however, suppose he had good reasons for remaining there. If it was not the smallness of his force, it might have been with a view to keep Hyder to the southward, and to draw his attention from the reinforcement which was then coming from Bengal.

The General moved in the end of May to raise the siege of Thiagur. He reached Trividi the 1st of March, from whence Mheer Saheb retreated on his appearance: here he halted two days, and then returned to his old camp at Cuddalore. I cannot account for this conduct, unless by supposing that from Baillie's defeat he conceived too high an opinion of Hyder's army, and relied too little on his

own, or that he did not think the place of sufficient consequence to risk a general engagement to prevent its fall, and that he only moved to divert the enemy and protract the siege.

The Bengal troops having by this time entered the Carnatic, the General, to hinder Hyder from striking any blow against them, marched to the southward on the 16th June, and two days after arrived at Chilambrum, a fortified pagoda, thirty miles south-west of Cuddalore. Adjoining to the pagoda there is a large pettah, surrounded by a mud wall: the garrison were between two and three thousand poligars. In the evening the General sent three battalions to attack the pettah: the enemy, after a scattered fire, ran to shelter themselves in the pagoda. By some mistake, without orders, the foremost battalion pursued them to the gates; which finding shut, they brought up a twelve-pounder against them. The second shot burst open the outer gate. The spunge staff was fired out of the gun in the hurry, and the man who carried the match was not to be found. In this exigency, Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, with great recollection, loaded and discharged twice, by the help of a musquet, and made a breach in the second gate large enough to allow one man to go through at a time. The sepoys rushed in: the space between the two inner gates was in a moment full of them: they did not observe, midway between the two, a flight of steps which led to the top of the rampart. The garrison, every moment dreading the assault, called for quarter, but their voice was not to be distinguished in the general tumult which now ensued; for, some straw having taken fire, caught the clothes of the sepoys, who were crowded between the gateways, and every one pressing back to avoid suffocation and the fire of the enemy, (which was now redoubled at the sight of their disaster) many of them were scorched and burned to death, and those who escaped hur-

ried away without attempting to bring off the twelve-pounder. Six officers and nearly one hundred and fifty men were killed and wounded in this unfortunate affair. The General, who was in the pettah at the time, ordered some pieces of cannon to batter the wall. A fine brass eighteen-pounder was ruined without making any breach; and day beginning to dawn, the troops returned to camp. All thoughts were now relinquished of taking the place by assault; and there being no battering-guns with the army, it was resolved to send for them to Cuddalore; and, after taking the rice out of the pettah, to proceed to Porto Novo to cover their landing. We marched to this place on the 22d, and the same day Mheer Saheb encamped five miles to the westward of it.

Sir Edward Hughes arrived on the 24th with the battering train; and whilst rafts were preparing to carry it up the river to Chilambrum, our attention was called to an object of much greater consequence; for, at daybreak on the 28th, the sound of the reveille was heard in front of the camp, and the rising of the sun discovered to our view the plain for several miles covered with the tents of the Mysorean army. Hyder was preparing to besiege Trichinopoly, when the commandant of Chilambrum advised him of his having repulsed the English, and that they had retreated to Porto Novo. The time he had so long wished for he imagined was now come, when he might, in one day, destroy the only army that remained to oppose him. His expedition showed his confidence of success—he marched seventy miles in two days, and encamped at Mootypollam, four miles from Porto Novo. His troops were no less sanguine than himself. Some came near enough to the grand guard to warn them of the fate that awaited them so soon as they should come forth to the plain. They bid their foragers, who kept out of reach of the English sentries, not fear them, but go wherever they could find the

greatest plenty, for that they would not dare to touch them when they themselves were in the power of Hyder. This language afforded little comfort to the desponding part of our army, who, when they beheld the great extent of the Mysorean camp, and the numerous bodies of horse and foot that moved about it, could not avoid thinking Hyder as formidable as he was represented by those who had escaped from Perimbacum, and entertaining the strongest apprehensions of the event of the approaching engagement; but those who considered our artillery, served by men whom Mr. Bellecombe had pronounced superior to every thing he had seen in Europe, the perfect discipline of the troops, and their confidence in their commander, regarded Hyder offering battle as the most fortunate circumstance that could have happened.

A little after daybreak, on the first of July, the General drew up the army in a large plain which lay between the two camps. On his right was a chain of sand-hills which ran along the coast, at the distance of about a mile from the sea in the rear; and on the left, woods and enclosures, but with an open space between; two miles to the left ran another chain of sand-hills, parallel to the former, and behind them lay the principal part of the Mysorean army. At eight o'clock the enemy opened eight guns, in two batteries which they had raised among the sand-banks; but they were too distant to do much execution. The General, having reconnoitred their situation, saw that it was their wish that he should advance across the plain, under the fire of the batteries they had constructed on every side, that their cavalry might be able to take advantage of the impression: he therefore made no change in his disposition, but kept his ground, offering them battle till eleven o'clock, when, finding they did not choose to make the attack, he moved to the rear of the sand-hills on his right. The army marched in two lines, the first commanded by General

Munro, the second by General Stuart. In the first were all the European infantry, with six battalions of sepoys equally divided on the flanks; in the second, four battalions of sepoys. One-half of the cavalry formed on the right of the first; the other half, on the left of the second line. The baggage, guarded by a regiment of horse and a battalion of sepoys, remained on the beach near Porto Novo. The army, after marching a mile between the sand-banks and the sea-shore, again defiled by an opening into the plain, where the enemy's infantry and artillery were drawn up waiting our coming; but their horse still remained behind the sand-hills. In an hour the whole of the first line got into the plain, where they formed under the fire of forty pieces of cannon. Not a shot was returned; the guns were not even unlimbered; but every thing remained as if the army had been to continue its march. The enemy, encouraged by this, which they attributed to an intention of escaping, brought their artillery nearer; every shot now took effect. The General rode along the front, encouraging every one to patience, and to reserve their fire till they were ordered to part with it. He only waited for accounts from the second line. An aid-de-camp from General Stuart told him that he had taken possession of the sand-hills; he immediately gave orders to advance, and to open all the guns. The artillerymen, who had been so long restrained, now exerted themselves. Their fire was so heavy, that nothing could stand before it. The Mysorean infantry only stayed to give one discharge; the drivers hurried away the cannon, while the horse attempted to charge; but they were always broken before they reached the line. In a quarter of an hour the whole were dispersed.

Whilst the first line were engaged with Hyder, the second was attacked by Tippoo and Lally, who were repulsed by General Stuart in all their attacks to drive him from the sand-hills; and when Hyder fled, they followed

him. A deep water-course saved the enemy from pursuit, for we were six hours in crossing it, which they, from the number and goodness of their cattle, had done in one. Our army was seven thousand five hundred fighting men. The force of the enemy has been variously estimated. A Portuguese captain, who deserted to us during the action, and who pretended to have seen the returns, made it amount to three hundred or four hundred (I do not remember which; it makes little difference,) thousand men that could fight. However it may be, it is certain that their numbers were such that the most exact discipline never could have brought the whole into action.

I am sure you will be tired before you get to the end of this long story; but I have been particular, because it was this action that first gave a turn to our affairs in the Carnatic, and because it was considered at the time as the most critical battle that had been for a long time fought in India; for what could be a more serious matter, than to engage an enemy so superior in numbers, whose great strength in horse enabled him to take every advantage, and when there was no alternative between victory and entire ruin? Had we been once broken, it would have been impossible ever to have rallied when surrounded by such a multitude of cavalry. It was known afterwards, that when the action began, Hyder issued an order to take no prisoners.

The army halted a few days at Cuddalore, and then went to the northward to meet the Bengal detachment, which it joined without any interruption, in the beginning of August, near Pulicat. This detachment amounted, when it left Bengal, to five thousand men; but was now reduced by sickness and desertion to little more than two thousand: it was commanded by Colonel Perrie.

After this junction, we laid siege to Tripassore, a small fort thirty miles north-west from Madras: it had a strong garrison, but only four old guns on the works: and in

two days, a breach being made, it surrendered. Scarce had the party, sent to take possession, got within the walls, when the Mysorean army came in sight, hastening to raise the siege.

The English colours, and a few shot, convinced Hyder that he was too late: he turned back immediately, and encamped at Pereinbanaum. It was said, and I believe with foundation, that he sent a challenge to General Coote, to meet him on the same ground where he had cut off Colonel Baillie, where, as well from the natural strength of the situation, as from the superstitious notions of his people about fortunate places, he knew that, if ever he was to be successful, it must be there. Coote, always fond of fighting when there was a prospect of victory, marched on the 27th to attack him.

The advance-guard, marching along the avenue which leads to Conjeveram, received a discharge from four eighteen pounders, placed in a grove to the left of the road: it was immediately ordered to halt, till the line should come up and form. While this was doing, the General rode out to view the position of the enemy, and found that a stronger could not have been imagined. Besides three villages which they had occupied, the ground along their front, and on their flanks, was intersected in every direction by deep ditches and water-courses;—their artillery fired from embrasures, cut in mounds of earth, which had been formed from the hollowing of the ditches, and the main body of their army lay behind them.

The cannonade became general about ten o'clock, and continued with little intermission till sunset; for we found it almost impossible to advance upon the enemy, as the cannon could not be brought without much time and labour over the broken ground in front. The enemy retired as we advanced, and always found cover in the ditches, and

behind the banks. They were forced from them all before sunset; and after standing a short time a cannonade on open ground, they fled in great hurry and confusion towards Conjeveram. More than six thousand of them were killed or wounded. Our loss was about five hundred men. General Stuart and Colonel Brown lost each of them a leg by the same cannon-ball, as they were talking together in the beginning of the engagement; the Colonel died a few hours after; but the General recovered, and is now in the field. It is doubted by many, whether we have derived any advantage from this battle: they say, that where every thing is to be lost by a defeat, and little gained by a victory, an engagement ought not to be hazarded, except some essential point is to be accomplished. That, in the present instance, this was not the case; that the strength of the enemy's situation made victory uncertain; and that though they were totally defeated, the want of provisions prevented us from pursuing our success; and that the General, by attacking them in front, instead of turning their left flank a little beyond which the ground was clear, showed little knowledge of the country.

Others again say, that as we cannot follow Hyder all over the Carnatic, we ought to fight him wherever there is an opportunity; that he had collected his whole force, and waited for us on the same spot where he had defeated Colonel Baillie; and that if we could drive him from his ground, where his army thought itself invincible, he never would again dare to face us.

The army returned to Madras immediately after the action, for a supply of provisions; and in the end of September we again marched to try to bring Hyder to another battle. He arrived at Shulingur two days before us, and, as usual, took post near the road by which we were to march. On the 27th, in the morning, the General went out to observe his situation: having considered every thing

attentively, he sent to camp for a brigade, to take possession of the ridge of rocks within two miles of Hyder's right. This being done, and every thing still appearing quiet in the enemy's camp (for though they observed the troopers that accompanied the General as a guard, they considered them only as a reconnoitring party, and in that persuasion all, except a few sentries, retired to rest in the heat of the day), the General ordered the whole army to advance immediately. The head of the line passed the stoney ridge at two o'clock: the enemy were astonished at the sight, and made haste to strike their tents. They had scarcely got into order, when our army came opposite to them, and halted within random shot. The camp colours were planted, as if we intended to encamp; and Hyder, equally afraid to leave his advantageous post to attack us, as to remain so near us during the night, began to retreat in confusion. They could only get away by the left, along the road leading to Arcot; for there was a range of hills in their rear, at the distance of three miles, and the ground on the right was covered with wood, and so rugged, that no guns could pass over it.

The General detached the second brigade to turn Hyder's left, and draw up across the Arcot road, to prevent his escape that way; whilst the rest of the army advanced briskly in front, to take possession of the encampment he was quitting, and to drive him back on the hills in his rear. Hyder, seeing that nothing could now save him but a bold push, divided his best horse into three bodies, and sent them under three chosen leaders, to attack as many different parts of our army at the same time, promising them the highest rewards in case they should succeed. They came down at full gallop, till they arrived within reach of grape, when being thrown into confusion, the greater part either halted or fled; and those that persevered in advancing, were dispersed by a discharge of musquetry,

except a few, who thought it safer to push through the intervals between the battalions and their guns, than to ride back through the cross-fire of the artillery; but most of these were killed by the small parties in the rear. This attack, though made with little spirit, enabled Hyder to save his guns, which passed within half a mile of the second brigade, while it halted by an order from the General, to be at hand to support the rest of the line, in case the cavalry had made any impression. Excepting the escort with the artillery, every one in the Mysorean army shifted for himself; we followed them till sunset, when they were all out of sight, and we halted for the night, two miles in the rear of their camp. Our loss was not above fifty men killed and wounded; Hyder's loss was great for the shortness of the action, and fell chiefly among his best cavalry, upwards of seven hundred of whom were counted dead on the field; he also lost one piece of cannon, which was the first ever taken from him in the field of battle by a European army.

After the defeat, nothing was wanting to drive Hyder out of the Carnatic, but the means of carrying provisions, and a train of artillery, for the reduction of Arcot; but we were so far from having rice sufficient for this purpose, that we had not more than enough for two days, nor did we know where to find a supply. In this distress we were relieved by Bom Rauze, the most powerful Rajah dependent on the Nabob of Arcot. The pass which led into his country, was not above two miles from the field of battle. The army entered it the following day. The country of Bom Rauze is situated among a heap of naked hills. The intermediate valleys are cultivated in the highest perfection: the communication between them is only by narrow and difficult roads, through which no army had ever marched. The inhabitants, secure in the natural strength of the country, lived in quiet; none of them had

ever seen the face of an enemy. Hyder, when he entered the Carnatic, summoned Bom Rauze to repair to his standard, who refused to obey till the fall of Arcot, and then complied only to save his lands from being laid waste. He went to the Mysorean camp, attended by a numerous body of his subjects, who serve without pay; he followed Hyder in all his expeditions; and in the confusion which attended the defeat in the last engagement, he escaped into his own country.

He gave permission to his people to bring provisions to the camp, and he himself collected considerable quantities for our use in different villages; but as many of them lay at a great distance from camp, and the only access to them was by rugged and intricate paths, the supplies arrived so slowly, that although the greater part of the cattle of the army was employed in conveying them, they were little more than sufficient to replace the daily consumption. It was to lessen this inconvenience that the General detached Colonel Owen with six battalions of sepoys and two hundred cavalry, to a village fifteen miles off; the Colonel sent a battalion six miles farther to a fort, the residence of a petty poligar, to which the country people brought rice enough to serve the detachment. This place was separated from the valley where Owen lay, by a chain of rocks. He encamped with his right to the hill, his rear was secured by another hill, his left was open, and there was a choultry two miles in the rear, on the Arcot road, in which an officer was posted with a company of sepoys. A range of hills ran along his front at the distance of a mile; and two or three hundred yards from the foot of them, opposite to the right of the camp, was the entrance of the pass, which led to the valley, where General Coote lay. In this situation, Owen remained till the 22d of October, when his spies brought him intelligence that Hyder's army was approaching: he did not pay much

regard to this information, at least he made no change in his disposition. Next morning, at sunrise, the officer at the choultry gave him notice that the enemy's army was in sight, as he believed, at the distance of four miles, and that they were advancing with the utmost rapidity. Upon this, he went out himself with five companies to observe their strength. It was, unfortunately, a considerable time before he was convinced that it was their whole force; he had even once resolved to meet them; but a little reflection made him take the wiser step of retreating. The baggage, which had hitherto been forgotten, was now buried to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

The Colonel was detained so long waiting for the arrival of the party from the choultry, that a large body of horse came down with two guns, which opened upon his rear before it moved from the encampment. As the pass was at no great distance, the front of the line soon gained it, and placed two field-pieces to cover the entrance, under the command of Captain Moorhouse, an officer equal to any danger. Two battalions entered, without losing a man; but the other three were obliged to halt to oppose the enemy, who now fired from above thirty pieces of cannon, whilst their matchlock-men kept up a continual discharge from behind rocks and bushes; and their cavalry hovered round, looking for an opening to charge. The rear battalion gave way; but the other two remained steady, and entered the pass in good order, yet so hard pressed that they were forced to abandon one of the six-pounders posted to defend it. As soon as Colonel Owen learned this misfortune, he determined to make a bold push, not only to retake the gun, but to check the enemy. Captain Moor, a Bengal officer, and Captain Moorhouse of the artillery, offered their services, which were gladly accepted. Captain Moor, putting himself at the head of his grenadier company of Europeans, marched back to the spot where the gun had

been left: finding it surrounded by a large body of horse and foot, who were attempting to drag it off, he attacked them vigorously, and was so much favoured by the ruggedness of the ground, that notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, he put them to flight, and rejoined the line with the gun. The enemy, though they kept a greater distance after this repulse, followed the detachment, firing from behind bushes to the end of the pass, when they retired; and Owen, continuing his march a few miles farther, met the General hastening to support him. Seven officers and near two hundred men were killed or wounded in this action: the number that engaged, including a company of European grenadiers, that had joined two days before, did not exceed one thousand five hundred men. The battalion which had been sent to collect rice was not informed of the enemy's approach till eleven o'clock, when it retreated along the hills, and joined the army next morning.

Colonel Owen gained great praise for the calmness with which he gave his orders, and for the intrepidity with which he exposed his person during the action; he was, however, blamed for some dispositions. It was thought by many, that his having an outpost at the distance of a mile and a half was injudicious, as it gave the enemy time to come up before it could be recalled; and that his encampment was ill chosen, for that had he established it close to the pass, he might have entered it with his whole force before the enemy could have overtaken him, when the nature of the ground would have counterbalanced the inequality of numbers.

The season being now far advanced, the army made haste to relieve Vellore; but, notwithstanding every exertion, it was found impossible to throw in more than three months' grain. We left it in the beginning of November, and next day encamped near Chiltore, a fort of little strength, which had formerly been the residence of Abdul-

wahab Khan, brother to the Nabob, who defended it some days against Hyder; but having no prospect of relief, he made his escape by night. The officer who succeeded to the command, after a fortnight's siege, surrendered. The person to whom Hyder intrusted the care of it was a man of great resolution; but having no artillery, and a breach being made in two days, he capitulated. A battalion of sepoys being left to garrison it, the rest of the army marched on the 16th, to raise the siege of Tripassore, which was invested by a strong detachment; we had only one day's rice with us; there were seven corps which had received none the preceding day. A supply of six days luckily joined us on the march. On the 19th, in the midst of a heavy rain, we quitted the woods by a road that no army ever had passed before; and though we did not advance above five miles, it was attended with such difficulties, that the rear-guard did not reach camp till twelve o'clock next day. The rain continued all this time increasing, and was accompanied with such extreme cold, that many hundreds, both of men and bullocks, perished by the way; whole families, worn out by hunger, fatigue, and the severity of the weather, laid themselves down under the bushes and died together. The rain continued without abatement for two days; there were two rivers between us and Tripassore, and there was only two days' rice in the camp. From this dismal situation we were relieved on the third day, when the weather cleared up; we crossed both rivers with less trouble than had been expected, and the whole army was encamped before midnight, within three miles of Tripassore, after being obliged to shoot four elephants and a hundred horses, that could not get through the river.

Tippoo raised the siege on the 20th, after having lain a week before it. The artillery of the garrison consisted of two eighteen-pounders, and six small old guns.

Tippoo opened a battery of four eighteen-pounders, and in a few hours broke the carriage of one of the large guns in the fort, which constrained the besieged to cease firing. The enemy soon demolished the defences, and breached the wall; but the garrison, having repaired the damaged carriage, opened all their guns, and soon silenced the battery.

Tippoo, finding, from the deepness of the ditch in that place, that he would be obliged to fill it before he could storm the breach, raised another battery opposite to a place of the fort where the ditch was fordable; but was hindered from mounting guns on it by the approach of the army. The army went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Madras, on the 3d of December. I am, &c.

Whoever may take the trouble to compare the preceding narrative with the sentiments expressed by Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill, touching the same transactions, will discover, that though in the main a strict agreement runs through them, certain, and these not unimportant, contrarieties here and there exist. In the estimation of Mr. Munro, for example, the surrender of Arcot was not unavoidable; the place might have held out, and ought to have held out, till relieved. Again, his description of the battle of Porto Novo, though in its details corresponding pretty accurately with that of Colonel Wilks, differs from Mr. Mill's relation in this important particular, that it furnishes no ground whatever for accusing Sir Eyre Coote of indecision; whilst his account of the affair of Pollilore represents it to have been neither a doubtful victory nor a repulse. It

was a hard fought, but decidedly a successful action. The army was not compelled to retreat by any demonstrations on the part of the enemy. On the contrary, after remaining upon its ground a sufficient length of time to bury the corpses of Colonel Baillie's ill-fated detachment, it fell back, simply because means of subsistence, so far in advance, were wanting. Lastly, in spite of the honourable anxiety manifested by Colonel Wilks to do justice to the gallantry of Lieutenant Flint, in the defence of Wandiwash, some facts have been omitted even by him, which the journal now given supplies; whilst here, and here only, has notice been taken of Colonel Lang's meritorious services in the attack and defence of Vellore, which these services eminently merit.

But it is not to be supposed that Mr. Munro's thoughts were, even at this interesting period, so completely engrossed with public matters, as to leave him without leisure for indulging those kindly and generous dispositions which were natural to him. The following letter to his mother, whilst it casts considerable light upon his own proceedings and fortunes, gives proof that the feelings of a son and a brother were not less powerful in him now, than when he dwelt at Northside, in the bosom of his family:—

DEAR MADAM,

I HAVE long been impatiently expecting to hear from you. Every fleet, I imagined, would bring me a letter from at least one member of the family; but though

several ships have arrived, they have brought not a single line for me. Your mentioning in your letter of October 1779, my father's disappointment at London, with your hopes of his having gained some friends who might be of service to him hereafter, makes me extremely anxious to know if your expectations have been answered. Two years is a long time to remain in uncertainty of your situation.

When I have found myself here at my ease, I have often reflected how very different the case might be with you, and that thought has given me more pain than any disappointment that could possibly happen to me here would do.

Mr. Graham, in November, got me appointed to act as quartermaster to the fifth brigade, which, with my ensign's pay, is worth about thirty shillings a day; but this, though it might at home, and even in this country, in peaceable times, be thought a handsome allowance, is yet little more than sufficient, in the present state of affairs, to find common necessaries; it is also only temporary, as it ends with the war. However, when this happens, Mr. Graham has promised to get me an appointment; but I don't think this is at all certain. At the same time, I have every reason to hope, that if he remains here till the conclusion of the war, he will do something for me.

We are just now encamped in the neighbourhood of Madras, and shall march in a few days to throw a supply of provisions into Vellore.

I shall write you again, and very particularly, by the first ship that sails after the Swallow; but this must depend upon circumstances. If I am in the field, it will be impossible. Though you should not hear from me for a twelvemonth, do not imagine it to be carelessness. A letter runs a thousand risks in going to Madras from the camp; and even after this there is a chance of its being lost on the way to Europe.

Camp, 30th Dec. 1781.

Of the military operations which took place between the date of this letter and the signing of the definitive treaty with Tippoo in 1784, I regret that it is not in my power to give, in Mr. Munro's words, any detailed account. That he kept a regular journal of events, in which not the movements of the army alone, but those of the fleet also, were recorded, I am well aware, but of that journal detached portions only have been preserved; and as these add little to the stock of information already possessed by the public, it were scarcely worth while to transcribe them. I must content myself, therefore, with stating, "that he was present when the army, on its march to Vellore, was cannonaded by Hyder Ally, on the 10th and 13th of June, 1782, and shared in the assault of the French lines at Cuddalore on the 13th of June, 1783; that he on this occasion acted as aid-de-camp to Major Cotgrove, who commanded the left attack; that he assisted at the siege of Cuddalore until the 2d of July, when hostilities ceased in consequence of the peace with France; and that from that period till after the close of the war, he remained cantoned with a division of the army, in the neighbourhood of Madras." To this epitome of services, which, as the reader has doubtless perceived, is copied from the paper already given in the preface, I may indeed be permitted to add one statement, to the truth of which ample evidence exists, namely, that

Mr. Munro permitted no opportunity of distinguishing himself, to escape; and that, subordinate as his rank was, he already began to be regarded as an officer of extraordinary merit and promise.

The following letter is selected from many written during this interval to his sister; it affords a fair specimen of his mode of expressing himself on lighter and more private topics.

You must not think me forgetful, if I do not write you so often as to my father and mother, since I consider it of little consequence to which of you my letters are addressed: if they reach home, they are considered as family epistles.

You cannot conceive what labour I go through a little before the departure of the Europe-ships. I have half a dozen of long letters to write, which employ me three or four nights. I often wish, before I am half done, that some quicker method could be invented of conveying our thoughts. This would be of greater use to you than to me, if your correspondence is now as extensive as it formerly was. I have heard it frequently observed, that most men, by a few years' absence from their native country, become estranged from their old acquaintances, and look back with indifference on the scenes of their earlier years. I have never yet been able to divest myself of my partiality for home; nor can I now reflect, without regret, on the careless, indolent life I led in my father's house, when time fled away undisturbed by those anxious thoughts which possess every one who seeks earnestly for advancement in the world. I often see my father busied with his tulip beds, and my mother with her myrtle pots; I see you drawing, and James lost in meditation: and all these things seem as much present to me

as they did when I was amongst you. Sometimes, when I walk on the sea-shore, I look across the waves, and please myself with fancying that I see a distant continent amongst the clouds, where I imagine you all to be. John Napier Greenhill is the only person here with whom I can talk of these things: he is so great an admirer of yours, that he one day solemnly declared to me, that he did not think you inferior in vivacity to his sister Anne. When I told him that he must not think me so credulous as to regard this flight as his real opinion, he assumed a grave countenance, and protested that he never was more serious in his life. This is farther confirmed by a letter I had some time ago from John Brown, informing me that his amiable correspondent, Erskine, had written him by the last ships a lively letter: his opinion goes farther with me than John Napier's, which I never have placed any confidence in since he one day told me that he had beaten my mother at backgammon, and that, had he not been afraid, he could have beaten my father also. A man, after such assertions as these, will say any thing.

Camp before Cuddalore, 17th July, 1783.

From the cantonments near Madras, Mr. Munro removed, in July 1784, to join his regiment at Mellore, near Madura, where he remained till January in the following year, when he was transferred to the thirtieth battalion, then quartered at Tanjore. With this corps he did duty during a few months only, when, in consequence of its reduction, he was made over to the first battalion; and he continued at Tanjore till his promotion to a Lieutenancy in the month of February, 1786.

This event attached him for a season to an European battalion at Madras; but of service at the Presidency he soon became weary, and, at his own request, an exchange was effected for him into the eleventh battalion of sepoys. The latter corps was at the time stationed at Cassumcottah, near Vezegapatam, at which place Mr. Munro abode till January 1787; but he was eventually appointed to the twenty-first battalion in garrison at Vellore, and in the following month joined it.

Such is the meagre summary, which alone I am enabled to give, of the professional career of Mr. Munro during several years. It was a period of profound peace, and of course furnished no opportunities of exertion in the field; but it was by no means wasted by the subject of this memoir in idleness, far less in dissipation. The following interesting letter to a correspondent in Glasgow, will show how the leisure moments of Mr. Munro were usually spent.

A country like India, which has been so often overrun by historians and travellers, and the manners of whose inhabitants have undergone but little change in so long a succession of ages, affords nothing to engage the curiosity of Europeans, except when it becomes the theatre of political revolutions, or is laid waste by contending armies. The powerful kingdoms you meet with in the accounts of the early voyagers, have been long since overthrown. They have, within these two hundred years, suffered numberless changes,—now joined into great kingdoms, now separated into a variety of petty principalities;—they have been ruled alternately by Indians and Mohammedans.

The Zamorin is the only ancient sovereign in the south of India; he possesses a small district on the Malabar coast, from which he is in continual apprehension of being expelled by Tippoo. He joined Colonel Fullerton's army, with some of his followers, in the last war.

The Peninsula is at present divided among four great powers,—the Mahrattas, the Nizam, Tippoo, and the English. There are besides a few independent chiefs, such as the King of Travancore and others; but they are too inconsiderable to be of any consequence in the great scale of politics. You may see, in the map published some years ago by Major Rennel, the extent and boundaries of their respective territories. The war which has been carried on for two years past by the Mahrattas and the Nizam against Tippoo, has made little alteration in them.

I have been, for some years past, amusing, or rather plaguing, myself with the Hindostanee and Persian languages. I began the study of them in the hopes of their becoming one day of use to me; and I was encouraged to go on by the wonderful relations given by Messrs. Richardson and others of the magazines of the useful and the agreeable concealed in Oriental manuscripts. I have been unlucky enough not to have yet found any of these treasures; but I have found, at least I think so, that these gentlemen have been rather lavish in their encomiums. They have pronounced a number of books to be elegant, beautiful, and sublime; and they have supported the old opinion, that fancy abounds much more in the East than in the West. This doctrine may be very well adapted to those people who imagine that a writer who frequently introduces the sun and the moon, and roses and nightingales, must be a very grand and very fanciful genius; and to those learned authors who attribute the fertility of Oriental imagination to the heat of the sun—who conceive it to be expanded by that luminary, in the same manner as air;

—and that, in tropical climes, the unfortunate owner is hurried away by it, sometimes above the clouds, and sometimes into the sea, as if he were tied to Major Money's balloon.

Among many books that they admire, is the poem of Yooseph and Zuleiha by Tami — a most patience-proving story, founded on that of Potiphar's wife. Here the lady does nothing but pine, and cry, and string similes from the beginning to the end; and her swain appears to be an honest, wholesome, counsel-giving divine.

After an exordium, with which all Persian books begin, in praise of God and the Prophet, Zuleiha's birth and qualifications, mental and personal, are described. Among the latter is one somewhat singular:—the poet, after mentioning the largeness of her hips, says, the flesh was so soft, that, when pressed by the hand, it came out between the fingers like dough.

Not satisfied with his first description of her roses, rubies, and narcissuses, he gives you a second, in which he compares her features to the different letters in the alphabet; and on this occasion his ideas are so far-fetched, that I was more puzzled to find the smallest similarity, than ever I was by any geometrical problem. His pathetic scenes are everlasting lamentations, in which the lady is angry with her father and mother for bringing her into the world, and with her nurse for giving her suck,—and curses the day in which she was born. His moral observations consist of a heap of old maxims, commonly called proverbs.

When Joseph's brethren consult about making away with him, they lay their heads together; because wise men say that two contain more than one; and that if a man cannot see to do his work with one candle, he lights another.

The Leili and Mujnoon by Nizami is, if possible, still more extravagant, absurd, and insipid than this. When

Mujnoon hears that Leili is to be given in marriage to another, he flies to the wilderness, and tells his griefs to the beasts of the forest—by which they are so affected, that they acknowledge him for their chief, and follow him wherever he goes.

Colonel Dow, who, from his translations, appears to have been but a poor Persian scholar, affects to be a great admirer of these eloquent writers. Abul-Fazel, secretary to the Emperor Ackbar, is, he says, "sometimes too flowery; but at other times he comes down in a flood of eloquence on his astonished readers, like the Ganges when it overflows its banks."

I cannot say that, in perusing this author, I did not feel the astonishment which the Colonel describes; but it was owing to the immoderate length of his periods, that came down upon me in floods of such paltry nonsense, as can be imagined only by those who have read the Lady's Magazine.

The Persian writers have always been fond of long, pompous periods; and Abul-Fazel, who seems to have thought that the essence of all good writing consisted in this, has been so eminently successful, that his nominatives and verbs are often posted at the distance of three pages from each other; and the space within is occupied with parentheses within parentheses, where the sense, if any, lies concealed behind such a number of intrenchments, that the Council of Trent would be more puzzled to discover it, than they were to settle the meaning of Grace. Antitheses, and conceits of all kinds, are as much admired as long periods: these are chiefly employed in pathetic scenes; but when they have occasion to argue or moralize, every thing is done by the help of proverbs.

An old schoolmaster, to give me an idea of the sagacity of the philosophers of ancient times, told me a story the

other day of the poet Tami, who was also a notable divine, and one of his scholars. He was, it seems, one of those wise men who are fond of talking mystically on the most common occasions: this continually kept up the attention of his scholars, to know what he meant or wanted. He happened once to drop an orange; one of his scholars immediately began to reason with himself on the meaning of it. My master does nothing without a design. Tun was the sound the orange made in falling. Tun, zun, zun, and gumaun, have the same signification: gumaun, kumaun, are written in the same way. Kumaun is koos in Arabic; koos inverted is sook; sook, in Persian, is bazar; bazar and nar-ar have the same appearance on paper: this must be his meaning. The scholar ran and brought a pomegranate, nar signifying a pomegranate, and ar, bring.

Saadi is looked upon as the standard of Persian moral writers, and from his works are taken most of those little stories you find in the Spectator—of the drop of rain that fell into the ocean, and others: but these are his best—the rest are nothing but heaps of proverbs and wise sayings, to illustrate what every body knows: such as—a wise king should not be rash in ordering any one to be put to death, because the doctor cannot put things to rights afterwards. No man, with all his exertions, can ever get more than is decreed for him by Providence; and if he is not to catch fish, he may throw his net into the Tigris till he is tired.

Sentences of their books are continually in the mouths of every Mohammedan who understands Persian. Their conversation, the most self-sufficient and pedantic that can be imagined, and which turns unceasingly on Providence and the Prophets, is stuffed with verses from them and other books of poetry, except when they argue on religion, and then they attack and defend with verses of the Koran, though they understand no other Arabic; and assert, at

the same time, that it is impossible to render the divine spirit of it into any other language, or even to understand it properly in the original.

Books are very dear in the East, and the barbarous character in which they are written occasions a thousand errors in transcribing; so that the generality of people can afford to buy but few, and these few, from their incorrectness, they read with much difficulty; but then they have this advantage, that by the time they finish a book, they have the greatest part of it by heart, and are enabled to dispute more successfully. If they have any correct copies, they are confined to the libraries of princes and great men; but even these cannot be read without hesitation, as there are thousands of words in Persian that are written in the same manner, but have different meanings, and are differently pronounced.

Their histories since the eighth century are faithful; but are written in a dull, heavy style, like the genealogical chapters in the Bible. They contain but two descriptions of men—the good and the bad. The former are, without exception, as strong as elephants, as brave as Alexander, and as wise as Solomon; the latter oppressed their subjects, despised men of letters, and are gone to hell.

But of all their writings, none are more ridiculous, affected, and quaint, than their letters. They are composed of wise sayings, allusions, hints, broken sentences, and the blessing of God, without which, they observe, nothing can be done —of the most high-flown expressions of friendship or fidelity; but the same in all; and of the most extravagant complaints of the pain and torment of absence.

But every thing is set to rights again by philosophy's luckily coming to the aid of the letter-writer, and reminding him, that between friends an apparent separation is of no consequence, as they are always present to each other in idea. This is what they call the "Molakali Jismanio

Bohani," or corporeal and spiritual meeting; and without these, few letters are ever written.

The Emperor Akbar, the most enlightened of the monarchs of Asia, makes great use of them; and consoles himself with the one, for the want of the other; but I am not so much a philosopher as the Emperor, for I never write to a Mussulman, without telling him, that notwithstanding our spiritual meeting, unless the Cause of causes, God, shall cause a cause, that shall be the cause of our corporeal meeting, it will be altogether impossible for me to remain much longer in the vale of tears.

Their best style of writing is, I think, their tales, which are more simple than is generally thought in Europe. To prove this, I send you the story of Shylock, which I found in a Persian manuscript, with a literal translation of that part which concerns him,—for it is more properly the story of the Cazi of Emessa.*

TRANSLATION.

"It is related, that in a town of Syria, a poor Mussulman lived in the neighbourhood of a rich Jew. One day he went to the Jew and said, 'Lend me a hundred dinars, that I may trade with it, and I will give thee a share of the gain.' This Mussulman had a beautiful wife, and the Jew had seen and fallen in love with her; and thinking this a favourable opportunity, he said, 'I will not do this; but I will give a hundred dinars with this condition, that after six months thou shalt return it to me. But give me a

* This story is given verbatim, as coming from Ensign Thomas Munro, in the collection of notes at the end of the Merchant of Venice, in Malone's edition of Shakspeare. A copy of the original Persian MS. written by Mr. Munro at the time he discovered it, that is, in the year 1785 or 6, was sent by him to his friend Mr. Haliburton; but that gentleman has unfortunately not preserved it.

bond in this form, that if the term of the agreement be exceeded one day, I shall cut a pound of flesh from thy body, from whatever place I choose.' The Jew thought that by this means he might perhaps enjoy the Mussulman's wife.

"The Mussulman was dejected, and said, 'How can this thing be?' But as his distress was extreme, he took the money on that condition, and gave the bond, and set out on a journey, and in that journey he acquired much gain, and was every day saying to himself, 'God forbid that the term of the agreement should pass away, and the Jew bring vexation on me!' He therefore gave a hundred gold dinars into the hands of a trusty person, and sent him home to give it to the Jew; but his own family, being without money, spent it to subsist themselves.

"When he returned from his journey, the Jew required payment of the money, or the pound of flesh. The Mussulman said, 'I sent the money a long time ago.' The Jew said, 'The money came not to me.' When this, on examination, appeared to be true, the Jew carried the Mussulman before the Cazi, and represented the affair. The Cazi said to the Mussulman, 'Either satisfy the Jew, or give the pound of flesh.' The Mussulman, not consenting to this, said, 'Let us go to another Cazi.' When they went, he also spoke in the same manner. The Mussulman asked the advice of an ingenious friend that he had:—he said, 'He is a Jew, and thou art a Mussulman; he is subject to thee—say to him, Let us go to the Cazi of Emessa; go there, that thy business may be well.' The Mussulman went to the Jew, and said, 'I shall be satisfied with the decree of the Cazi of Emessa.' The Jew said, 'I shall be so too.' Then both departed for the city of Emessa. (Here follows a recital of the adventures they met with on the road; but I only translate that part of the story which concerns the Jew.) The Jew said, 'O Judge! this man borrowed a

hundred dinars of me, and made a pound of flesh from his own body the pledge—command him to give the money or the flesh.' It happened that the Cazi was the friend of the Mussulman's father, and on this account he said, 'Thou sayest true,—it is the purport of the bond.' He desired them to bring a knife. The Mussulman, on hearing this, became speechless. The knife being at length brought, the Cazi turned his face to the Jew, and said, 'Arise, and cut a pound of flesh from his body, in such manner that there may not be a grain more or less; and if thou shalt cut more or less, I shall order thee to be put to death.' The Jew said, 'I cannot; I shall leave this business and depart.' The Cazi said, 'Thou mayest not leave it; for the cruelty of the Jew is great.' He said, 'O Cazi! I have released him!' He said, 'It cannot be; either cut the flesh, or pay the expenses of his journey;' and family mediators came in between them, and settled it at two hundred dinars. The Jew paid another hundred and departed."

I have translated literally, without paying any attention to the English idiom, that I might give you a better idea of their manner.

The best imitators I have ever seen of the Persian writings are in the Turkish Spy. The tedious allegories of the Adventurer have not the least resemblance to them:—but why attempt at all to imitate productions so much inferior to our own? Nothing is so absurd that does not find admirers in Europe.

The Vision of Mirza in the Spectator, set all the literati a-dreaming; and for many years none of them would venture to write until they had first taken a nap.

This letter is already so long, that I must defer till my next what I have farther to say on this subject. I shall only say now, that the more I read, the more I am convinced of the justice of Monsieur Voltaire's observations, that the Persian poetry is something like the titles of their

kings, in which there is "souvent question" of the sun and moon, or, if you please, "It is full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." I would not give a chapter of the Don for the whole of it.

The date of the preceding letter is not given. It was received in Glasgow in October, 1787, and was probably written early in the same year; but the following tell their own tale, as well in this as in other particulars. They breathe a fine spirit of philosophy, as well as of disinterestedness and affection. It is to be noted, that though the first speaks of a fixed allowance as of an arrangement to be made by Mr. Munro in his father's favour, the practice of sending remittances home was not then beginning. He had lived, even during his maiden campaign, upon his pay; and all his extra allowances were regularly transmitted to Scotland.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Tanjore, 10th November, 1785.

DEAR MADAM,

THOUGH my situation is not such as I might have expected, had Sir Eyre Coote lived, yet I still look forward with hope, and do not despair of seeing it bettered. The only cause I have for repining, is my inability to assist my father as I wish, and the hearing that your spirits are so much affected by the loss of his fortune. Yet I cannot but think that you have many reasons for rejoicing. None of your children have been taken from you; and though they cannot put you in a state of affluence, they can place you beyond the reach of want. The time will come, I hope, when they will be able to do more, and

to make the latter days of your life as happy as the first. When I compare your situation with that of most mothers whom I remember, I think that you have as little reason for grieving as any of them. Many that are rich, are unhappy in their families. The loss of fortune is but a partial evil; you are in no danger of experiencing the much heavier one—of having unthankful children. The friends that deserted you with your fortune were unworthy of your society; those that deserved your friendship have not forsaken you.

Alexander and I have agreed to remit my father 100*l.* a year between us. If the arrears which Lord Macartney detained are paid, I will send 200*l.* in the course of the year 1786. John Napier will tell you the reason why it was not in my power to send more.

The writer of this beautiful letter was not aware, that at the very moment when he was congratulating his mother on the preservation of every member of the family, one was on the eve of paying the debt which all are doomed to pay. No great while elapsed, however, ere the death of his brother was communicated to him, to which he replied in the following manner.

TO HIS FATHER.

Vellore, 15th February, 1787.

YOUR two last have made me almost afraid to hear from you, which was one of the greatest pleasures I had on earth; for the one brought the melancholy accounts of the death of a brother, whom, of all my brothers, if ever I felt a partiality in favour of any of them, I loved the most; and the other, of the friend whom, of all my friends, I most esteemed.

I cannot help being alarmed at my mother's situation: her indulging her grief so unceasingly must prey upon her health. I know the warmth of her feelings, and the strength of her affection for her children; but I hope her religion and good sense will enable her to bear with resignation the loss she has sustained. She has still many children left, whose cares and attentions, though they can never make her forget how excellent a son she has lost, may, in some measure, console her for that which is now irreparable.

I mentioned to you in my last, that Daniel had gone to Bengal: he tells me in his last, from Calcutta, "I leave this to-morrow for Batavia, Malacca, and China. Mr. Graham proposed my going there for a voyage, with two hundred rupees per month. I was induced to close with it, from the consideration of its being an introduction, and as an opening to something more beneficial hereafter. You will consult Mr. G. in the best mode of transmitting 150*l.* to our parents, and the earlier it can be done the better; I mean that that sum shall annually be paid them by me. As I shall be much at sea, 100*l.* per annum will defray my expenses. In addition to this, you will endeavour to get my allowances in the 36th regiment remitted." Daniel is generous and sanguine; and I believe that his wish to assist you has made him undervalue his own unavoidable expenses.

I must own that I shall advise him not to make any remittance till his allowances are larger, unless it be his pay in the 36th regiment, which I am afraid he will not be allowed to draw if he is long absent; for, by distressing himself at his outset, he might get into difficulties from which he would hereafter, perhaps, find it difficult to extricate himself.

There are several other letters in my possession, dedicated to the same subject, all of them equally

touching; but I abstain from inserting them, only because the limits of my work will not permit me to give more than a portion of Mr. Munro's voluminous correspondence.

In the month of August, 1788, Mr. Munro was appointed assistant in the Intelligence department, under Captain Alexander Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the province of Guntoor. The following contains an account of the causes which led to that measure, as well as sentiments touching the policy and justice of the mode in which it was effected.

TO HIS FATHER.

[The date uncertain, probably in January, 1789.]

THE most important public transaction, since my last, is the surrender of the Guntoor Circar to the Company, by which it becomes possessed of the whole coast, from Jaggernaut to Cape Comorin. The Nizam made himself master of that province soon after Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic, as an equivalent for the arrears of peshcush, due to him by the Company for the other Circars. The Company not being at that time in a situation to compel him to restore it, he kept it quietly for several years; and though Sir John Macpherson sent Mr. Johnson to Hyderabad, to demand the restitution of it, he paid little attention to his request. But the Company, seeing their affairs again in a respectable situation, determined to compel him to deliver what they considered as their own property. They ordered Lord Cornwallis to intimate to him, that they were willing to discharge their arrears of peshcush, and to

pay it regularly in future; but that the restoration of Guntoor must be the price; and that, in case of refusal or delay, their troops would enter the province in fourteen days.

Colonel Eidingtoun, with a detachment of a regiment of Europeans, and four battalions of sepoys, being already arrived on the boundary of the Company's territory, on the 9th of September, Captain Kennaway, from Calcutta, presented to the Nizam a paper, containing a demand of the surrender of the Circar, a promise of a faithful discharge of all arrears, as well as regular payment hereafter, and notifying the time limited for the advance of the Company's troops. The Nizam, unable singly to contend with such an antagonist, and despairing of assistance from any of the country powers, (for Tippoo was unwilling to make any movement without the co-operation of France, and the Mahrattas were employed in expelling an usurper, and reinstating Shah Alum on the throne of Delhi,) submitted to the terms imposed upon him. He instantly issued orders for his forces to evacuate Guntoor, but, at the same time, protested against the violence and injustice of the Company. "They ought," he said, "to have paid their arrears previous to their insisting on the restoration of the country;—and what security have I," he asked, "that they will be more punctual in future in discharging their peshcush than they have hitherto been?"

It would certainly have been a more honourable and manly policy to have paid him, first, all his just claims, and then to have made the requisition. The consequence would have been the same, with this difference, that adopting this method would have raised, while following the other has degraded, the name of Englishmen!

The spirit of the nation humbled in the West by an unfortunate war, seems to have extended its effects to this country, in stooping to a timid, where a bold policy would

have been equally safe. The apprehension, if any existed, was groundless, that the Nizam, if he had received the money, might have employed it against the Company, and refused to give up the province. The sum did not amount to the quarter of one year's revenue; and had it been ten times more, it would have availed little; for to a weak and distracted government, without an army, *money* is but a poor defence against a warlike and powerful enemy. He knew that resistance would be in vain, and that it would serve no other purpose than to afford the Company a pretence for withholding the peshcush of the other provinces. He was too wise to give them such an opening, and was no doubt happy to save, in some measure, his credit, by the consideration that they had some claim to the possession of Guntoor. His reply to Captain Kennaway's demand is sensible and candid,—it is the language of a prince, who feels that he is insulted without having the power to avenge himself. The perusal of it is affecting—it displays the humiliation of a great prince compelled to sacrifice his dignity to necessity, and to suppress his indignation at being told, that this is done with his own approbation, and purely from motives of friendship by the English. If I can get a sight of the original, and a few spare hours, I shall send you a translation of it.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

(Signed) THOS. MUNRO.

I subjoin to this a letter addressed to his sister, of a date little, if at all, later than the preceding. It is written in a very different style, and treats of matters very different in their nature.

Madras, 23d January, 1789.

MY DEAR ERSKINE,

NOT a scrap from you for almost two years; but my father, by sending me your fragment on Old Maids, has taken care to let me see that you are taken up with matters nearer home, than writing letters to me. Since reading this poem, I have often wished that you were transported for a few hours to my room, to be cured of your Western notions of Eastern luxury, to witness the forlorn condition of old bachelor Indian officers; and to give them also some comfort in a consolatory fragment. You seem to think that they live like those satraps that you have read of in plays; and that I in particular hold my state in prodigious splendour and magnificence—that I never go abroad unless upon an elephant, surrounded with a crowd of slaves—that I am arrayed in silken robes, and that most of my time is spent in reclining on a sofa, listening to soft music, while I am fanned by my officious pages; or in dreaming, like Richard, under a canopy of state. But while you rejoice in my imaginary greatness, I am most likely stretched on a mat, instead of my real couch; and walking in an old coat, and a ragged shirt, in the noonday sun, instead of looking down from my elephant, invested in my royal garments. You may not believe me when I tell you, that I never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, till I came to India, —that since then, I have frequently met with the first three, and that the last has been my constant companion. If you wish for proofs, here they are.—I was three years in India before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvass, stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was the great coat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and

drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff in the basket,—hilt to point,—and very comfortable, I assure you, all but my feet; for the tailor, not having foreseen the various uses to which this piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck; and I generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head. This bed served me till Alexander went last to Bengal, when he gave me an Europe camp-couch. On this great occasion, I bought a pillow and a carpet to lay under me, but the unfortunate curtains were condemned to make pillow-cases and towels; and now, for the first time in India, I laid my head on a pillow. But this was too much good fortune to bear with moderation; I began to grow proud, and resolved to live in great style: for this purpose I bought two table-spoons, and two tea-spoons, and another chair,—for I had but one before—a table, and two table-cloths. But my prosperity was of short duration, for, in less than three months, I lost three of my spoons, and one of my chairs was broken by one of John Napier's companions. This great blow reduced me to my original obscurity, from which all my attempts to emerge have hitherto proved in vain.

My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been able to keep it all of a piece; it grows tattered in one quarter, while I am establishing funds to repair it in another; and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off, to try on a new waistcoat.

My travelling expeditions have never been performed with much grandeur or ease. My only conveyance is an old horse, who is now so weak, that, in all my journeys, I am always obliged to walk two-thirds of the way; and if he were to die, I would give my kingdom for another, and find nobody to accept of my offer. Till I came here,

I hardly knew what walking was. I have often walked from sunrise to sunset, without any other refreshment than a drink of water; and I have traversed on foot, in different directions, almost every part of the country, between Vizagapatam and Madura, a distance of eight hundred miles.

My house at Vellore consists of a hall and a bed-room. The former contains but one piece of furniture,—a table; but, on entering the latter, you would see me at my writing-table, seated on my only chair, with the old couch behind me, adorned with a carpet and pillow: on my right hand a chest of books, and on my left two trunks; one for holding about a dozen changes of linen, and the other about half-a-dozen of plates, knives and forks, &c. This stock will be augmented on my return by a great acquisition, which I have made here,—six tea-spoons and a pair of candlesticks, bought at the sale of the furniture of a family going to Europe. I generally dine at home about three times in a month, and then my house looks very superb; every person on this occasion bringing his own chair and plate.

As I have already told you that I am not Aladdin with the wonderful lamp, and that, therefore, I keep neither pages, nor musicians, nor elephants, you may perhaps, after having had so particular an account of my possessions, wish to know in what manner I pass my leisure hours. How this was done some years ago, I scarcely remember; but for the last two years that I have been at Vellore, I could relate the manner in which almost every hour was employed.

Seven was our breakfast-hour, immediately after which I walked out generally alone; and though ten was my usual hour of returning, I often wandered about the fields till one; but when I adhered to the rules I had laid down for myself, I came home at ten and read Persian till one,

when I dressed and went to dinner. Came back before three; sometimes slept half an hour, sometimes not, and then wrote or talked Persian and Moors till sunset, when I went to the parade, from whence I set out with a party to visit the ladies, or to play cards at the commanding officer's. This engaged me till nine, when I went to supper, or more frequently returned home without it, and read politics and nonsense till bed-time, which, according to the entertainment which I met with, happened some time between eleven and two. I should have mentioned fives as an amusement that occupied a great deal of my time. I seldom missed above two days in a week at this game, and always played two or three hours at a time, which were taken from my walks and Persian studies. Men are much more boyish in this country than in Europe, and, in spite of the sun, take, I believe, more exercise, and are, however strange it may appear, better able to undergo fatigue, unless on some remarkably hot days. I never could make half the violent exertions at home that I have made here. My daily walks were usually from four to twelve miles, which I thought a good journey in Scotland. You see children of five or six years of age following the camp, and marching fifteen or sixteen miles a-day with the same ease as their fathers.

I have almost as much local attachment to Vellore as to Northside; for it is situated in a delightful valley, containing all the varieties of meadows, groves, and rice-fields. On every side you see romantic hills, some near, some distant, continually assuming new forms as you advance or retire. All around you is classic ground in the history of this country; for almost every spot has been the residence of some powerful family, now reduced to misery by frequent revolutions, or the scene of some important action in former wars.

Not with more veneration should I visit the field of Marathon, or the capitol of the ancient Romans, than I tread on this hallowed ground; for, in sitting under a tree, and while listening to the disastrous tale of some noble Moorman, who relates to you the ruin of his fortune and his family, to contemplate by what strange vicissitudes you and he, who are both originally from the North of Asia, after a separation of so many ages, coming from the most opposite quarters, again meet in Hindostan to contend with each other—this is to me wonderfully solemn and affecting.

Soon after the preceding letters were written, Mr. Munro set out for Ambore, where he continued to do duty, in his new capacity, till the year 1790. This was a period of no common interest. Among other arrangements entered into with the Nizam, it was stipulated, that a corps, to be lent to him as often as his circumstances might require, by the British Government, should not be employed against any power in alliance with the Company; and the powers thus honoured with a friendly title were explicitly enumerated. The name of Tippoo was not found in the list; and that prince, well aware that he was an object of jealousy both to the Mahrattas and to the Nizam, experienced, as it was natural that he should, considerable uneasiness at the omission. He began to arm, and his movements were before long of such a nature as to leave no doubt of the hostility of his designs towards the Carnatic. Though there was no such apprehension of a war now, as there had been ten

years previously, to preserve peace by every honourable means was the decided policy of the East India Company; and this they hoped to effect, not so much by the assumption of a formidable, though a defensive, attitude, as by keeping up what was termed "the balance of power" among the native states. To reduce Tippoo therefore entirely, was esteemed a measure fraught with no less danger than to permit his pushing his conquests too far. He was regarded as an excellent check upon the Mahrattas, as well as a rival to the Company itself, which would have kept him so, had not his own precipitancy plunged him into hostilities with the English nation.

The following letter from Mr. Munro to his father contains so many striking truths, and exhibits so fair a specimen of the writer's method of thinking and reasoning on all subjects, that I cannot refuse to it a place in these pages. It will be seen, that the experience which he had by this time acquired, encouraged him to take wider views, and to deliver more decided opinions, on the transactions passing around him; that the justice of his conclusions have been fully confirmed by the event; and that the conclusions themselves are in many respects not less applicable to the state of the Company's affairs at this moment, than they were when originally drawn.

TO HIS FATHER.

Ambore, 17th January, 1790.

TIPPOO, after having been for the last two years employed in suppressing a rebellion among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, has at length turned his arms against the King of Travancore. His design against this prince has been known above a year in every part of India; and Government, on their part, have not failed to demand explanations, and to trust, as usual, more to assurances, so often broken, than to the more certain evidence of his ambition, and the hostile movements of his armies. It is above a year since the King of Travancore, seeing the storm gathering, requested that two battalions of sepoys, to be paid by him, might be sent to his assistance; his demand was complied with; and he hoped that the presence of these troops would either deter Tippoo from attacking him, or at least induce his allies, the English, to support him in the event of a war. Experience has already shown that he was mistaken in the first instance: how far he was right in the second, a few days must now determine. His country is naturally strong, and his people are warlike; but, unassisted, he will not long be able to contend with his powerful antagonist. His dominions are entirely surrounded by a range of mountains and the sea, except an opening to the north, of about ten miles, between the termination of the hills and the Malabar shore. This space is defended by a high mound of earth planted with a thick bamboo hedge, and is farther secured by the fort of Cranganore, which the Dutch sold last year to the King of Travancore. On this transaction Tippoo grounds his reasons for now commencing hostilities, asserting that the Rajah of Cochin, being his vassal, had no right to sell it to the Dutch without his approbation, nor they to another power. He

demanded its restoration some months ago, and was refused by the King. The Government have signified to him their intention of not supporting him in maintaining any acquisitions he may have made since the last peace. They at the same time wrote to Tippoo, telling him that their ally, the King, was under great alarm at his assembling an army on his frontiers; but testifying their own confidence in his pacific disposition. Tippoo was not yet ready for action, and therefore replied, that nothing was farther from his thoughts than war; but having at length completed the reduction of his rebellious subjects, he turned his arms instantly to the southward, and cannonaded and stormed the Travancore lines on the 29th of December, but was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men. A second attack is daily expected; and if the King is left alone, all his exertions against a power so superior, can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked; and it is said that they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn; for the present is the only moment in which the aid of such a handful of men can be effectual. The barrier once forced, orders for them to act will arrive too late. All their efforts will then avail but little against the numbers of their enemies, and will only serve to draw a heavier vengeance on themselves and the unfortunate Rajah.

The distinction made between recent acquisition and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace; for Crangarore was a fair purchase of the Dutch from the Rajah of Cochin, subject, however, to an annual tribute of thirty-five rupees. And Tippoo, after the conquest of that prince's country, could not,

with any colour of justice, as long as he received the annual acknowledgment paid to the former sovereign, hinder the Dutch from selling it.

Should the English determine to support their ally, they could not wish for a more favourable conjuncture than the present. The Nizam, afraid of the growing power of Tippoo, and his former caution increased with years, would remain neuter; and the Mahrattas, during the present unsettled state of affairs at Delhi, and their disputes with the Rajah of Jaipore, and other princes of the North of India, would hardly engage in new wars, unless with the view of regaining the provinces wrested from them by Hyder. The flame of rebellion too being scarcely extinguished in his own dominions, all the Nairs, from Mangalore to Cochin, would crowd in arms to the standard of an invading army. But for this invasion, I fear that we are not yet in the state of readiness which we ought to be. It will require some time to assemble an army able to face the enemy; and before such an army can be put in motion, Tippoo may be in actual possession of Travancore and all the southern countries. We have derived but little benefit from experience and misfortune. The year 1790 now sees us as unprepared as the year 1780 did for war. We have added to the numbers of our army, but not to its strength, by bringing so many regiments from Europe; for so great a number of Europeans serve only to retard the operations of an Indian army, less by their inability to endure the fatigues of the field, than by the great quantity of cattle which is requisite to convey their provisions and equipage. No addition has been made to our sepoys, on whom we have long depended, and may still with security depend, for the preservation of our empire in this country. We have, therefore, made our army more expensive and numerous, though less calculated for the purposes of war, than for-

merly, both on account of the multitude of Europeans, and the want of cattle. We keep up, it is true, a small establishment of bullocks, but hardly sufficient to draw the guns, far less to transport the prodigious quantity of stores and provisions which follow an army. Had half the money, idly thrown away in sending a naval squadron, and four additional regiments to this country, been employed in increasing the establishment of sepoys and cattle, we should then have had an army which, for its lightness and capacity for action, would have broken the power of our formidable rival.

Exclusive of the unwieldiness of our army, we shall commence the war under the disadvantage of a want of magazines, for we have none at present but at Madras. Since the conclusion of the late war, we have acted as if we had been to enjoy a perpetual peace. The distresses and difficulties which we then encountered, from the want of them, has not cured us of the narrow policy of preferring a present small saving, to a certain though future great and essential advantage. The money disbursed on such an occasion would have been amply repaid by the facility which it would have given to our warlike operations. Magazines at this place, for instance, would have prevented us from being obliged to leave Madras encumbered with a great quantity of stores and provisions; from being forced to fight in that situation, and after losing half of them, compelled to return for a supply—would have brought us one hundred and thirty miles nearer the enemy's frontiers, and by that means have rendered it unnecessary to have carried any great store of grain, as we should have found it every where in the Mysore country, and would have enabled us to have reduced the whole of Tippoo's dominions in one, or, at most, in two campaigns. It may be thought that Tippoo, on our entering his territories, would cut off all supplies of provisions; but this is

not so easily to be done as may at first sight appear. It is not here as in Europe, where they have only one harvest. Every month produces a crop of some kind of grain or other, which would serve for the subsistence of our army; or if that was not sufficient, we should find enough in every little village. Tippoo, it may be said, might burn the standing grain, as well as that laid up in the villages. The former he might soon destroy, but not the latter, because it is not at all collected in a public magazine, but every man has as much as will support his family throughout the year concealed in pits, in his own house; and the quantity is very considerable, as grain is the only food of the inhabitants; but Tippoo, in burning the grain, would distress himself more than us; for having little intercourse with other nations, and his own being almost entirely composed of husbandmen, he would deprive himself of the principal source of his revenue. Besides, if he laid waste the open country, he must collect great magazines, in a few of his principal forts, to supply his numerous armies; and whenever any one of them fell, it would give us the means of fixing ourselves firmly in his country; for that which would subsist his army for a month, would maintain ours for a year.

It would therefore have been more wise to have made these preparations, which would have facilitated the movements of the army, than to have increased its unwieldy force. It was not men that we wanted,—for we were strong enough before to fight and beat the enemy,—but the power of giving action and energy to the force in our hands; for it is an army that, while it is strong enough to face our enemy, is also able to march with rapidity, that can alone be formidable to him.

Notwithstanding our unprepared state, our force is so superior, and our advantage so great in having the choice of entering any part of his dominions, that many are of

opinion, that were we now to proceed with despatch to form magazines, and to commence the war with vigour, we might, without any great display of military talents, conclude it with the subversion of the rising empire of our most inveterate enemy.

It has long been admitted as an axiom in politics, by the directors of our affairs, both at home and in this country, that Tippoo ought to be preserved as a barrier between us and the Mahrattas. This notion seems to have been at first adopted without much knowledge of the subject, and to have been followed without much consideration. It is to support a powerful and ambitious enemy, to defend us from a weak one. From the neighbourhood of the one, we have every thing to apprehend; from that of the other, nothing. This will be clearly understood, by reflecting for a moment on the different constitutions of the two governments. The one, the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world, in which every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Hyder, and in which all pretensions derived from high birth being discouraged, all independent chiefs and Zemindars subjected or extirpated, justice severely and impartially administered to every class of people, a numerous and well-disciplined army kept up, and almost every employment of trust or consequence conferred on men raised from obscurity, gives to the government a vigour hitherto unexampled in India. The other, composed of a confederacy of independent chiefs possessing extensive dominions, and numerous armies, now acting in concert, now jealous of each other, and acting only for their own advantage, and at all times liable to be detached from the public cause, by the most distant prospect of private gain, can never be a very dangerous enemy to the English. The first is a government of conquest; the last, merely of plun-

der and depredation. The character of vigour has been so strongly impressed on the Mysore government by the abilities of its founders, that it may retain it, even under the reign of a weak prince, or a minor. But the strength of the supreme Mahratta government is continually varying, according to the disposition of its different members, who sometimes strengthen it by union, and sometimes weaken it by defection, or by dividing their territories among their children.

That nation likewise maintains no standing army, adopts none of the European modes of discipline, and is impelled by no religious tenets to attempt the extirpation of men of a different belief. But Tippoo supports an army of 110,000 men, a large body of which is composed of slaves, called Chailies, trained on the plan of the Turkish janizaries, and follows with the greatest eagerness every principle of European tactics. He has even gone so far as to publish a book for the use of his officers, a copy of which is now in my possession, containing, besides the evolutions and manœuvres usually practised in Europe, some of his own invention, together with directions for marching, encamipng, and fighting, and he is, with all his extraordinary talents, a furious zealot in a faith which founds eternal happiness on the destruction of other sects.

An opportunity for humbling an enemy so dangerous, and so implacable, has now appeared; and had we been in the state of readiness for action which good policy demanded of us, one army might have entered the Coimbitore country, and another set down before Bangalore, almost before he could have opposed us. But so far from this, no army is yet likely to assemble; and it was with much difficulty that Colonel Musgrave prevailed on the Governor to send the 36th regiment, two battalions of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry, and a company of artillery, to Trichinopoly; but the troops there, even when

joined by this detachment, will not form an army that will be able to act offensively.

Our operations will be still farther impeded by the reference which it will, most likely, be judged expedient to make to Bengal, before we proceed on an offensive war. The public look impatiently for the arrival of ————, and seem to be sanguine in their expectations of the happy effects to be derived from the ability and exertions of so distinguished a character. Experience might have taught them, at least in this country, to build less on great names; for they have seen so many impositions on the understanding of mankind, invested with high offices, and recommended by common fame, as were enough to prejudice them against any man who should come among them with such credentials.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

(Signed) THOS. MUNRO.

The following extracts from a letter to his sister, contrast powerfully with the document just given, and prove, that the mind which could thus speculate upon the rise and fall of empires, was neither insensible to the pleasure to be derived from a contemplation of the forms of outward nature, nor to the still more refined enjoyments which depend upon the exercise of memory and reflection:—

Ambore, 1st March, 1790.

I SPEND many of my leisure hours on the highest summit of the rock on which the fort stands, under the shady side of a bastion built by Hyder.

This spot has for me a certain charm, which I always strongly feel, but cannot easily describe. It is a kind of enjoyment derived from the wide view of the diversified

country below me,—from the thoughts that its rivers, woods, and villages, give rise to; but above all, from the temporary return that I make to my native country, while memory contrasts the far distant with the surrounding objects.

While seated on the rock, I am, or I fancy that I am, more thoughtful than when below. The extent and grandeur of the scene raises my mind, and the solitude and silence make me think that "I am conversing with Nature here."

To the east, I see a romantic and well-cultivated valley, leading to the wide plains of the Carnatic. To the south, a continuation of the same valley, running as far as the eye can reach, into Mysore. All the rest, on every side, is a vast assemblage of hills and naked rocks, wildly heaped one above another.

I am so fond of my station here, surveying so many regions, and enjoying the refreshing coolness of the stones and the air, while the country below appears to be on fire, that I seldom quit it till the sun, coming over my head, forces me to descend.

I am particular in mentioning these things to you, because I know that you will be more interested in such little incidents as mark the turn of my thoughts, and the manner in which I pass my time, than in a thousand descriptions of the country and its revolutions.

But you must not suppose, from what I have said, that I am idle, and live entirely on the hill; on the contrary, I am so constantly employed that I have not time to visit it more than once, seldom twice a-week. My business is laborious in the extreme.

No great while elapsed after the date of this letter ere Tippoo, who for some time threatened the lines of Travancore, advanced in force, and carried them by assault. This was the immediate

signal for a declaration of war on the part of the British Government. An alliance was entered into with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, each of whom engaged to furnish a contingent, whilst two large armies were commanded to assemble, one under General Meadows, the successor of Mr. Holland, at Madras, the other under General Abercrombie, at Bombay. These measures no sooner became known to Mr. Munro, than he solicited and obtained permission to return to his regimental duties; but before he could quit Ambore, hostilities were begun, of which, as well as of the events that led to them, he gives the following narrative:—

TO HIS FATHER.

Ambore, 22d September, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

My last letter to you was, I believe, written in April or May. I then mentioned the new aspect of affairs in this country, and some of the causes which appeared to have produced so unexpected a change. A correspondence was carried on between Tippoo and Government, from the storming of the Travancore lines, till the declaration of war; but having had no opportunity of seeing it, or even, from my remote detached situation, of hearing the current reports respecting it, I cannot pretend to give any account of its nature. I have only heard in general terms, that Tippoo first disavowed having given any orders for hostilities; afterwards acknowledged his design of driving the Rajah of Travancore from the territory which he had usurped; and, at last, threatened the Company with his vengeance in case they should support their ally. I am

equally ignorant whether the motives ascribed to Mr. Holland for his conduct, are founded in truth or speculation. That he raised his demands upon the Rajah in proportion to the approach of danger, is not improbable; but that he sold Tippoo a country which he meant to defend against his arms, is too bold a species of villany to have ever been conceived.

The inactivity of Tippoo may have been the cause of our imputing to his political avarice a conduct which has perhaps been directed solely by the coldness and indecision of his character. All such intrigues, if ever they existed, will be sooner known to Parliament than to the public in this country. I shall therefore leave them, and confine myself entirely to the detail of military transactions, which have already, even in this early period of the war, been attended with some important acquisitions.

In a very short time after Tippoo's invasion of Travancore, a triple alliance was formed against him by the Company, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam. I am ignorant of the stipulated force to be furnished by the two last powers, but it appears, from their preparations, not to have been very considerable. It was foreseen that their usual delays, their dread of Tippoo, and the swellings of the Kistnah and other rivers from the rains which fall constantly and violently on the Malabar coast, though lightly on the Nizam's country from May till September, would prevent their taking any active part till late in the season; and as Travancore appeared to be in the greatest danger, it became necessary to send an army as expeditiously as possible to the relief of the Rajah. Tippoo was already master of the lines, when Colonel Hartley, from Bombay, arrived at Parore on the 23d of April, with the 75th regiment and two battalions of sepoys. This force, joined to the Madras battalions, could not save Crunganore and Parore. Tippoo took them, and destroyed them; but he

was deterred from advancing far into the country by the rivers, by the strong position of Colonel Hartley on the island of Vipeen, whom he could not easily attack, and was afraid to leave in his rear; and, above all, by the arrival of the English army on the plains of Trichinopoly. He began his march towards Coimbitore on the 15th of May, carrying with him all the guns and military stores which he had found in Travancore. Though every means had been adopted from the day of General Meadows's landing, to hasten the preparations in every department, the army was not ready to move before the end of May. The General joined it on the 24th, and marched on the 26th of that month, with provisions for forty days. Before he had advanced twenty miles, near twenty tumbrils broke down; and it was found that above one thousand bullocks were wanting to transport the grain and stores; he was obliged to halt some days, in order to get the tumbrils replaced from Trichinopoly, and to collect a supply of bullocks. Whenever this was accomplished, he advanced again; but either from the badness of the bullocks, or of their drivers, he made very little progress, not above five or six miles a-day; and even the bullocks were always sent back from the new to the old encampment, to bring on the half of the provisions which had necessarily been left behind. Twenty days were thus consumed in marching to Caroor, though the distance is only sixty miles. The garrison evacuated it on his approach. He halted there till some repairs were made on the works, and a magazine formed in it of thirty days' rice for the army, when he marched on the 2d of July towards Aravacourchy, a place of little strength, garrisoned by a few poligars, who surrendered at the first summons. He arrived on the 10th at Daraporam, and found it abandoned. A few of the enemy's irregular horse were seen this day for the first time, and about fifty or sixty of them were killed or taken.

Tippoo was at this time at Coimbitore with his whole force; and as a report prevailed, and was by many believed, that he had resolved to fight the English army there, the General threw the battering guns and superfluous baggage into Daraporam, and prepared to meet him as light as possible.

But Tippoo had already transported his army across the Bowanny, and ascended the steep defiles on the road to Seringapatam. On this information being received, the guns and baggage were again brought out, and the army advanced towards Coimbitore, to which place Colonel Floyd was sent with the cavalry on the 21st, to prevent its being burned by Seid Saheb, who had been left by Tippoo to watch the motions of the English, and who retreated as they advanced, halting generally at the distance of twenty miles from their camp. The unexpected approach of the cavalry prevented Seid Saheb from executing his instructions of setting fire to the town; and the army coming up next day, Colonel Floyd was detached in pursuit of him with his own regiment, and three of native cavalry. After marching thirty miles, he found himself, about ten at night, in the middle of a small horse-camp of the enemy. He dispersed the party, which amounted only to five hundred, and took thirty or forty horsemen. They informed him that Seid Saheb was encamped about eight miles off, on the banks of the Bowanny, with eight thousand horse, and a body of infantry, with guns. Thinking it imprudent to attack so formidable a force, and the spot where he was affording no forage, he fell back ten miles next morning, and wrote to camp for infantry and guns. On the 23d and 24th, Seid Saheb passed the river on rafts; and on the 29th, Colonel Floyd, having been reinforced, marched in quest of him. When he reached the river next day, he saw his rear-guard encamped on the opposite bank: he threw away some shot at it, and returned to

camp. The result of this affair occasioned much disappointment, and, as usual, a good deal of discussion. It was said on the one side, that Floyd had no reason to doubt the information of the prisoners, that the force of the enemy, as described by them, was too superior to afford any reasonable hope of a victory; and that the advantages to be derived from it, however complete, were not to be put in competition with the disastrous consequences with which a defeat would have been attended. But, on the other hand, it was observed, that even granting the strength of the enemy to have been as great as it was represented by the prisoners, we must give up all thoughts of maintaining by arms our power in India, if near two thousand cavalry, highly disciplined and better mounted than any in Europe, cannot face eight thousand half-armed irregulars;—that if there was a corps of infantry, it could have done him no injury, as he could have kept aloof on observing it, and retreated towards camp, where it would not have ventured to follow him; and if the horse had pursued, he would have had to do with them alone;—that no man of the least military experience would place implicit confidence on the report of an enemy, especially when it is well known that the strength of an army can never be learned unless from officers accustomed to look at returns of its numbers, and that all others exaggerate its force two and three fold, not so much from design as from ignorance, and not accustoming themselves to ascertain by the eye the numbers of large bodies of men;—that any officer who has had the smallest opportunity of seeing the erroneousness of such reports, would have made allowance for the ignorance of a marauding horseman, and reduced the strength of the enemy one-half, in order to bring it nearer the truth;—that the reports of the country people, the nearness of the Bowanny, (a deep and remarkably rapid river, over which Tippoo had, a fortnight before, transported all his infan-

try and guns,) and his own sagacity, ought to have taught Colonel Floyd that Tippoo had left, as it afterwards appeared, only cavalry behind; and that, on the whole, either from too much caution, or a want of field experience, he, notwithstanding his zeal and gallantry, lost an opportunity, which he will in vain look for again, of cutting off to a man, without the least danger to himself, between three and four thousand of the enemy.

Colonel Stuart also returned to Coimbitore, about the end of the month, from Polligatchery, which he had been sent with a detachment to summon; but the Killedar refusing to surrender, and having no battering guns, and the Malabar rains still falling with great violence, he found it would be impracticable to besiege it.

The distance of Tippoo above the Ghauts, which it would require many days to descend, and the strong situation of the Coimbitore country, defended by the Bowanny and the Cavery, at this time swelled by the western monsoon, encouraged the General to adopt the measure of dividing his army to hasten the reduction of several forts in that province, which were still in possession of the enemy. Heraie, a place of no great strength, capitulated to Colonel Oldham in the beginning of August. Colonel Stuart, with the 52d regiment, the grenadiers of the first regiment of the Company, and four or five battalions of sepoys, opened a battery against Dindigul on the 19th; and the ammunition being expended on the 21st, it became necessary either to wait for the arrival of a supply, or to storm. The latter appeared most eligible: a party was selected for this purpose; it consisted of the 52d, and the Company's European grenadiers, supported by the 20th and 22d battalions of sepoys. The rock was so steep, that the troops were obliged to push one another up, which occasioned their advancing to the breach in small straggling parties, and their being repulsed with ease by a very trifling fire from

the garrison. Some accounts say, that the breach was not practicable, the rubbish which had fallen from it not being sufficient to enable the men to mount to the top of the wall; others, that the breach was a good one; but the behaviour of the grenadiers shameful. They were saved from the danger, perhaps from the disgrace, of a second assault, by the appearance of the white flag on the wall by daybreak next morning. The commandant was an old man, who had formerly gone on an embassy to Constantinople. His garrison consisted of eight hundred men; but only one hundred and fifty stood by him at the defence of the breach; which induced him, it is said, to observe, in answer to a compliment of Colonel Stuart's, "that he would not have seen him in camp for three months, had he not been deserted by his men." Much heroism was not necessary on the part of the garrison to have made good this assertion; for the works were found entirely rebuilt, and only inferior in strength to those of Madras. The loss of the storming party was inconsiderable.

A few days after the fall of Dindigul, Sattimungalum, a fort on the banks of the Bowanny, was taken by a detachment under Colonel Floyd. While a parley was holding with the garrison, a sallyport was perceived to be unguarded, and was instantly seized by Captain Stuart, of the 25th battalion; on which the place surrendered. The rains having abated, Colonel Stuart again moved towards Poligatcherry, where he arrived on the 9th instant. The General, in the mean time, remained at Coimbitore, as a centrical situation, to collect his army, or to support any division of it which might he attacked: he had with him two regiments of Europeans, and one battalion of sepoys. Colonel Floyd was on the Bowanny, waiting for its falling, in order to besiege Daniagancottah, or Danicottah, according to our maps. The General had forty days' rice in camp, which he was to keep untouched till he arrived

before Seringapatam ; and exclusive of this, a magazine of sixty days' rice was expected to be found at Sattimungalum by the 20th instant: no difficulty was found in getting it, for the country was as quiet as in the midst of the most profound peace.* The few parties of the enemy's horse who had ventured across the Bowanny, had been dispersed, and two or three hundred of them killed or taken. Provisions abounded in the camp, for every thing was paid for in ready money; and the inhabitants were protected, by the strictest discipline, from every kind of violence. The Bengal detachment, which had arrived at Madras in July, was encamped at Arnee, under Colonel Kelly, and, joined to the 4th, 74th, and 76th regiments of Europeans, and the 21st and 27th battalions of sepoys, formed the centre army. Colonel Hartley remained in the neighbourhood of Cochin. The Nizam was cantoned at Pangul, on the north side of the Kistna. His nephew, Mahabut Jung, the Nabob of Adoni, was at Rarchore, with about ten thousand men; and two of the Company's battalions of sepoys, and Purm Ram Row, the Mahratta, with a body of horse from Poonah, and the Bombay detachment under Captain Little, had just passed the Kistna; but all these allies, hindered by the rains, but more by the terror of Tippoo, marched at a great distance, till the English army should ascend the Ghauts and engage him, in order to decide on their respective operations. Such was nearly the situation of the different powers when Tippoo Sultan, with his whole army, marched suddenly from Seringapatam, and, to the surprise of every one, again descended the Ghauts, and attacked the advanced body of the southern army.

Within the space of a fortnight after writing this letter, Mr. Munro resigned his situation at Ambore, and joined the 21st battalion of Native Infantry, which formed part of the army destined,

under the command of Colonel Maxwell, to invade the Baramahaul.

Of the military movements which ensued, the following extracts of letters to his father give, by far, the most animated and striking account which has yet appeared.

Tippoo left Seringapatam on the 2nd of September, carrying with him some of the light country boats, to transport his guns across the Bowanny; but finding on the road that this river had fallen considerably, he left them behind, and descended the Gujehatty Pass on the 9th. A reinforcement of cavalry had, some time before this, joined Seid Saheb, whom Tippoo had left at the foot of the Pass in July. Colonel Floyd had received intelligence of this, and also of the approach of his army; but he gave little credit to them till the 11th, when they became more circumstantial; and on the 12th, not a doubt remaining of their authenticity, he despatched a sepoy to the General. On the morning of the 13th, he sent out his pickets to patrol; they were driven in by the enemy's horse; and Major Darley's regiment, which had been detached to support them, was surrounded, and obliged to take post among some enclosures, where it maintained its ground till it was relieved by Colonel Floyd with the rest of the cavalry, who dispersed the enemy, and killed about four hundred of them; and would have made a much greater slaughter, had not the closeness of the country prevented a pursuit. He returned to camp, and was at breakfast at nine o'clock, when two guns were opened upon him, and the enemy were discovered advancing in great force on both sides of the river. The line was instantly formed, and a cannonade commenced on both sides; on ours, by twelve guns, and on their part by eleven, which, in the course of the day, were increased to fourteen. The enemy

fired from a great distance, but with good aim; they disabled some of our guns, and killed many men. To answer their fire, it was necessary to give the guns a great elevation, which broke the axletree of one of the 12-pounders; and it being thought expedient to reserve a stock of ammunition for the following day, the fire, on our side, was discontinued at one o'clock, except, at intervals, a shot at such parties of horse as came near. That of the enemy continued without ceasing till sunset, when they drew off their artillery,—according to some accounts, behind some heights a few miles distant; and according to others, beyond the Bowanny.

Colonel Floyd, on their retreat, called together some of the senior officers, to consult with them respecting the measures to be taken: his infantry had suffered much, but his cavalry very little, having been drawn up in a second line, twelve hundred yards in the rear of the first: two of his 12-pounders were disabled, and many of the bullocks belonging to the other guns killed. Some were of opinion that all the infantry should be thrown into Sattimungalum, to defend it, while the cavalry should join the General, and accompany him to the relief of it; but it was judged more prudent by the majority, to withdraw the garrison, and proceed with all their force to meet the General.

The fort, which stands on the north bank of the Bowanny, was distant about two miles from the detachment; and Captain White, who commanded the 16th battalion, which garrisoned it, was ordered to join: he was expected at midnight, when the whole would have marched off, and, having so much the start of the enemy, could not have been overtaken; but White (who has since been permitted to leave the service) was drunk, and did not bring over his corps till daybreak. The retreat was instantly begun, but three guns, from the want of bullocks, were left behind; and more would have been left, had not Captain Dallas

rode into the fort in the evening, and sat up the greatest part of the night making two axles from a wooden pillar, for the two 12-pounders which had been dismounted. They were not overtaken till noon, at which time Colonel Floyd, with all the cavalry, was two or three miles in advance of the infantry; for, not thinking that the enemy could come up with him, he had, after a few hours' marching, changed his original order of march, which was in a double line, or two columns, the infantry on the right, and the cavalry on the left, with the little baggage remaining in the centre, and gone on with the cavalry to forage. On hearing the firing, which was now very heavy, he hastened back. The enemy had cut off most of the baggage; they had brought their guns within two hundred yards of the right of the line, and enfiladed it as it marched through narrow lanes, among thick hedges. An attack had been made on two of them by the light company of the 36th, which was in the rear of the line, but they had been repulsed by superior numbers, with the loss of all their officers killed or wounded; and had with difficulty been twice rallied by Captain Brown, whose corps was next to them; but their fire had killed Burhan ul Din, the friend of Tippoo, and the man next in authority to him, while he was on foot urging the artillery forward. The cavalry had, at the same time, charged, and been beat back with great slaughter, leaving their leader, Hajah Aftab Khan, mortally wounded close to the ranks. He had been for some time in disgrace with Tippoo, and had taken this opportunity of trying to regain his favour: he was probably intoxicated with opium, for he cut at Captain Byrne of the 36th, by whose fire he was supposed to have fallen, when he stepped out to assist him. The infantry were now again preparing to move, and bodies of horse were collecting to charge them, when they should come on an open piece of ground near their left. Colonel Floyd

came up at this time, and ordered part of his cavalry to charge the parties in the front and rear of the infantry. This was executed with so much spirit and success, that they never ventured near again; and, about an hour afterwards, left the field with their infantry, and the detachment continued its retreat to meet the General. The loss in those two days was one hundred and fifty-six Europeans and two hundred and eighty natives killed and wounded. This action, in its consequences, entirely deranged the plan of the campaign, and converted an offensive into a defensive war; and this was the more grievous, as it might so easily have been prevented.

There seems to be a fatality sometimes attending the greatest geniuses, which deadens the energy of their minds, and reduces them to the level of common men, at the moment when their best concerted schemes are going to be crowned with success. Had Tippoo acted with more decision on the 14th of September, by bringing up more guns, and pressing Floyd closer, he would probably have defeated him; or, if not that day, he would undoubtedly have done it the following; for not a man of the detachment had eaten or slept for two days, and they could have made little resistance to another attack. The General, who had gone by mistake, for it would be unjust to impute it to design, towards Doniancottah, could not have been near to support them; and, after their defeat, he would himself have fallen an easy sacrifice, for he had only three battalions of sepoys, and two of Europeans, without their flank companies; and even Colonel Stuart would have been fortunate, had he escaped with his detachment from Poligatcherry. The Colonel was so much convinced that these things would take place, that, on receiving information from the General of Floyd's situation, he made preparations for retreating (on the first accounts of the loss of the army, which he expected

every moment to learn,) with all his force to Cochin. Tippoo, fortunately for us, did not act with his usual vigour, and the southern army escaped from destruction.

After the junction with Colonel Floyd on the 16th, the General advanced to bury the dead, and afterwards fell back to cover the siege of Poligatcherry, which surrendered to Colonel Stuart, after a siege of twelve or fourteen days, but only one after the opening of the batteries. It fell about the 24th; and Colonel Stuart, with his detachment, joined the army two days afterwards. Tippoo had taken possession of Sattimungalum, and was now to the westward of the Bowanny. The General marched on the 29th to force him, as he said, to fight, but Tippoo had very different views: he wished to turn the war from his own country, without putting any thing to the chance of a battle,—and he was not disappointed. On the General's approach, he marched to Erode, which he had before taken possession of, on its being abandoned after the affair of the 14th: he continued to retreat towards Carore, followed by the General, who kept in his track till he lost it to the southward of Erode; but fearing that he was gone to attack a convoy coming from Carore, he continued his route to the neighbourhood of that place, where he was joined by the convoy. He heard nothing, however, of Tippoo, who had struck across the country to Darapuram, which surrendered after one day's firing of musketry, and batteries being ready to open, to which, having no guns, it could make no return. The terms of permitting the garrison to join the army, were not punctually observed; for, after it had marched out, a clause was inserted, by which the officers gave their parole not to serve during the war.

Tippoo now hastened to attack Coimbitore, which had been his great object in this incursion; but chance, which had done so much for us, disconcerted his plan. Colonel

Hartley had arrived at Poligatcherry, and detached the 10th and 13th battalions, which reached Coimbitore on the 6th. An attempt on the place would now have been in vain, for the garrison consisted of three battalions of sepoys: this alone saved it, for the General would have come too late: he did not receive the convoy till the 8th. The two following days he moved to the westward, in search of the enemy; but not finding them, and beginning to have some apprehensions for Coimbitore, he directed his course towards it, and arrived in its neighbourhood on the 17th. This was perhaps the wisest measure he could have adopted, as it brought him between Tippoo and the pass, interrupted his supplies, and, with proper intelligence, might have prevented him from returning to the eastward. Tippoo saw the difficulty of his situation: he marched to Annymally, as if with an intention of going round by Calicut, and reascending the Ghauts on the Malabar coast; but he returned suddenly, and passing by Tripour, within a march of which the army then was, reached his old station near Sattimungalum; his evening gun, which was heard next day by the General at Tripour, gave him the first intimation of his return. The army had now consumed the forty days' rice which they had been desired not to touch, on the outside of the gates of Seringapatam. They had lost about twenty days more in the different forts which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were now reduced to the necessity of sending another detachment to Carore for supplies: it was commanded by Colonel Trent, and marched on the 24th of October. It consisted of two battalions of sepoys, and was expected to return by the 1st of November, and join the army near Erode, which proceeded towards that place to meet it. The camp which Tippoo had occupied since his return from Darapuram, was within ten miles of the General: it was between the Bowanny and the Cavery:

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the left at Bonancoral, and the right towards Caveryporam. Here he formed the bold design of passing the Cavery, almost in sight of the General, and of marching against the Carnatic army, which had by this entered the Baramhaul country: he began to cross on the 31st of October, and the stream being barely fordable, it required three days to complete the passage. While this movement was making, his cavalry, which had been left in the rear to cover it, appeared every day in large bodies near the pickets, which probably made the General doubt some reports which he then received respecting it,—for he does not seem to have believed it until the 7th, when the horse having disappeared, and Colonel Floyd having gone out to patrole, brought information of his having seen the track of the guns to the bank of the river, and of the whole body of the enemy having gone over some days before: however eager he was to follow Tippoo, he could not march until the 8th, for Colonel Trent had only returned the preceding day from Carore. On the 9th the whole army was over, and next morning the pursuit after Tippoo was begun. In the mean while, the Carnatic army, under the command of Colonel Maxwell,—for Kelly died the day after he received the account of the attack on Colonel Floyd,—entered the Baramhaul on the 24th of October, and meeting with no enemy at Vaniambaddy and Trippetore, places defended only by a mud wall, it advanced to Kimagerry, which refusing to surrender, and being impregnable to any open fire, it proceeded to Caverypatam, which it found deserted. The day following, the 4th of November, Colonel Maxwell sent back a detachment to Ambore, for rice. On the 5th, he learned that Tippoo had passed the Cavery; but, notwithstanding this, he detached all his cavalry, about three hundred, a few days after, to attack a party of Looties, which he was informed was in a village about fifteen miles distant. They returned, luckily, without seeing any. The

convoy from Ambore got safely to camp on the 11th, at three in the afternoon, and escaped Tippoo's advance, which was waiting for them, by coming back by a road different from that which they had taken in going.

The enemy, disappointed in their design on the convoy, formed one against the cavalry. About four in the afternoon a few Looties appeared. Torin, with his regiment, was instantly ordered after them: they fled, and he pursued without drawing a sword, and with only one troop loaded, to the distance of eight miles, when, on turning round a hill, he found himself close upon a body of two thousand horse, drawn up in good order. On discovering them he took to flight, and was chased to within a mile of the camp, which he reached with the loss of seventy men and fifty horses. When his flight was observed, the army got under arms, and many corps crossed the river at sunset; they were crowded together, and could not have acted to advantage had it been necessary. The enemy, satisfied with their success, had returned to their main body; and we, without venturing to advance to bring off the wounded, fell back to camp at nine at night. Our camp was in a valley, which narrowed from three miles, its breadth at the north end near Caverypatam, to half a mile at the south, near Kimagerry. A river ran through the middle of it, along our front, and round our left: in our rear was the high range of mountains which bounded the eastern side of the valley. On the opposite bank of the river, about a mile from our left, stood the fort of Caverypatam, which, though it could not have stood a siege of more than a single day, might have been a good post in front of an army; and beyond it were some heights which commanded all the left of the camp. It was supposed that Cummer ul Din was near us with a large detachment, and that he would next day cannonade us from them, unless we prevented him by taking possession of them before his arrival. The 3rd

brigade crossed the river at daybreak on the 12th, and formed in front of them. At seven in the morning, the enemy were perceived advancing from behind a range of hills, about eight miles off: when they came within four miles they discovered the brigade; they stopped for some time, as if surprised at what they saw, and then filed off to the right without approaching our line: a few stragglers came near to reconnoitre, but the main body remained the whole day at the same distance. The 2nd brigade came over the river at nine o'clock, to reinforce the 3rd, as Major Goudie had informed Colonel Maxwell, that, from the dust, a very great body of the enemy appeared to be coming down upon him. They were satisfied with looking at us, and they marched off about four in the afternoon. We followed their example, which as soon as they discovered, a small party galloped after us, but never came within cannon shot. Many people said that the enemy this day had infantry and guns. I looked at them with different glasses, but could see nothing but cavalry, rocket-men, and a few elephants; and altogether their number did not seem to be more than two thousand. If Tippoo in person was there, as it is now said he was, it could only have been with an advanced party.

We remained quiet on the 13th; but in the morning of the 14th, the enemy were seen descending from the high ground on our left. The army, after some delay, was formed in the position which it ought perhaps to have always occupied. This was done by falling back from the left, or rather by changing front on the centre. In this operation one brigade passed the river to the right; the front of the line was to the southward, instead of the westward, and it was out of reach of the high ground beyond Caverypatam. The 1st and 2nd brigades extended across the valley, and the 3rd was in the rear as a reserve. The narrowness of the ground made it impossible to bring

a greater force than our own into action against us, and Tippoo could not attack us unless he crossed the river with his right to engage our left wing, which it was idle to imagine he would attempt, as the repulse which he would undoubtedly have met with would have been attended with the loss of his cannon.

Three guns were fired in the course of the day at a few horse which were burning a village. The enemy contented themselves with looking at us till the afternoon, when they retired, and we encamped. It was confidently affirmed by many, and with the same confidence denied by others, that Tippoo was this day present in our front, with all his army. I could see nothing like an army. The enemy did not appear to me to be three thousand strong, nor could I distinguish either infantry or guns, though they had certainly some of the latter, as we afterwards saw the marks of them. I imagine, however, that they were only a few which Tippoo had brought forward to cannonade our left, and provoke us to cross the river, and follow him towards his camp, which was about ten miles off; he would have destroyed many of our men as we advanced, and his army would have been ready to receive us: after being nearly exhausted with fatigue, they might probably in such circumstances have defeated us; and if not, the country was open for their retreat, which it was not near Caverypatam, for they could have carried their guns only by one or two roads among the hills, several miles from that place.

The enemy gave us no trouble on the 15th; and on the 16th a letter from the General informed us that he was within fifteen miles of us. Tippoo was on this and the preceding day between the two armies; good intelligence and a judicious movement might have dispersed his army and taken his artillery. On the 17th, when the armies joined, he was supposed to have gone up the Pollicatt Ghaut. Though he was not ten miles from us, he wished to

get to the southward before us; he therefore marched all night in order to gain the Tappore pass undiscovered. Our advance, however, saw his rear about eight in the morning of the 18th; and from the dust, they judged that a great part of his army was already in the pass. The rear was covered by about two thousand cavalry, which retreated and formed alternately, while our line advanced, giving them a few shot at the distance of twelve or fifteen hundred yards; they might easily have been overtaken, had not so much unnecessary delay been used in following them. The advance, which consisted of four regiments of cavalry, and three battalions of sepoys, could have reached the head of the pass at noon, and the army might have been there an hour after; instead of which, they did not reach it till near sunset, when most of the enemy were already through it. If they had advanced briskly, they would, without any loss, have got possession of all the guns in it; but the contempt with which Tippoo was once regarded, had unfortunately changed into greater respect than he was entitled to, and ambuscades were looked for in every wood. These two opinions have both been hurtful in their consequences,—one has laid us open to the enemy, and the other has hindered us from taking advantage of the critical situations into which he has sometimes been brought, either through mistake or necessity.

The preceding letter, which bears date, Camp opposite Trichinopoly, 24th December, 1790, brings down the narrative of events to the period when Lord Cornwallis's arrival at Madras produced an important change in the conduct of affairs. In the following, dated from Bangalore, the 2d of May, 1791, a continuation of the same interesting tale will be found; and I give it, with-

out presuming to make the smallest alteration either in style or matter, beyond an occasional omission of criticism, which, however just, could not be intended by the writer to meet the public eye. After describing the various movements which led the army to Velout, where it arrived on the 27th of January, the preparations of the Governor General, and other matters of less moment, Mr. Munro thus proceeds:

The army, with twenty heavy cannon, left Velout on the 5th of February, and got to Moogly on the 17th, where a messenger from Tippoo delivered some proposals of peace to his Lordship. He was dismissed next day with an answer, that none would be listened to while he had a man in the Carnatic. Tippoo continued still at Gingee, perhaps with the hope that we would not venture to leave the Carnatic while he was in it; but finding himself deceived in his conjectures, he ascended the Ghauts with great expedition, and arrived at Bangalore only two days before us. We heard of it on the 3d, at Oscottah. This place, and Colar, the only places of defence which we had met with on our march, had no garrisons but a few matchlock-men, and of course surrendered at the first summons. The army on the 4th, during its march to Kistnaveram, saw several large bodies of horse; and while it was encamping, Tippoo, with his whole army, passed to the north-east, about four miles from its left flank. It was suspected, that he meant to attack the rear or the baggage, and judicious dispositions were made to defeat both these designs. The army was formed on some heights to the left before daybreak, and halted till daylight to see where he was; but as he did not appear early, the right wing and the cavalry moved off with the baggage, while the left kept its position till

they were some way advanced, and then followed. Just as it moved off, Tippoo came in view, and advancing rapidly, he opened ten or twelve guns; but with hardly any execution, as the wing seldom halted: his cannon were at last brought to a ridge, from which he was afraid to descend on account of some bad ground below, and his Lordship seized this moment to make the left retreat out of the range of shot. Tippoo fired a great deal, but at such a distance, that not above eight or ten men were killed and wounded; and the army, without any other impediment, continued its march, and encamped in the afternoon within a thousand yards of the pettah of Bangalore. The next day was spent in reconnoitring; and the cavalry, which went out to cover the engineers, received a severe check from the enemy. We lay to the northward of the fort, which is to the south of the pettah. To reconnoitre the eastern face of both, the engineers went out in the afternoon, escorted by all the cavalry, about two thousand, and three battalions of infantry, under Colonel Floyd. The latter allowed himself to be diverted from the business on which he had been sent by the sight of some parties of the enemy's horse, to which he gave chase, and he soon found himself among the rear of their army, which was just finishing a march, and occupying the ground of encampment. They fled before him on every side: he cut in pieces some parties of infantry, took nine guns posted on some eminences, and was hastening to attack another height which he thought it necessary to gain, when he received a musket-ball through his cheek, and fell from his horse. He was soon remounted; but unable to speak, or make his intentions understood: from this instant every thing fell into confusion. It was beginning to grow dark; and the regiments, which had hitherto been charging separately, not receiving any instructions, or knowing what was to be done, mingled together in confusion. The enemy, at the

same time, brought up some corps of infantry, and began a heavy, but distant and ill-directed fire of cannon and small arms; but this was sufficient to complete the confusion of the cavalry. The retreat which they had begun was soon changed into a precipitate flight. The ground which they had to pass, was full of rocks and ravines, into which many of them fell, and were taken by the enemy's horse, who pursued, cutting off all those who could not keep up with the main body, which never halted till it came to a height, to which Major Goudie, who commanded the three infantry battalions, had advanced on hearing the firing above a mile from the place where he had been ordered to remain. By doing this he saved the cavalry, for very few of them would otherwise have reached camp; whereas his fire soon obliged the enemy to retire, and he returned to camp with the cavalry. His wound was certainly the first cause of the confusion; and it is perhaps not going too far to say, that it was a fortunate circumstance: had it not happened, he would probably have pushed so far on, that he never could have extricated himself; for the enemy were strongly posted, and the flower of their cavalry, which was at some distance, was coming on, led by Tippoo.

In this affair about two hundred and fifty horse were taken, and about one hundred men; near two hundred were wounded, and fifteen or twenty killed. Tippoo sent back all the prisoners, after ordering their wounds to be dressed, and giving to each man a piece of cloth and a rupee. This behaviour, so remote from his general character, occasioned a good deal of speculation respecting the cause of it. Some said that it proceeded from his wish of reconciling himself, if possible, with the English Government; and others, that it was done with the design of attaching our cavalry to him, and occasioning a defection among them. Whatever might be his motives, he gained

more honour in this affair than they did. The credit of the army was however restored next day by the infantry. The 36th regiment and 26th Bengal battalion, with the European pioneers and a detachment of artillery, stormed the pettah at sunrise. It was surrounded by a wide dry ditch twenty feet deep, and an almost impenetrable hedge, fifty yards broad, of thorn and bamboo. Opposite to the north gate, a bank had been left across the ditch: a gun burst the outer gate without difficulty; but the inner, though likewise soon broken, could not be opened, from a barricade of earth and stones having been thrown up behind it. In this service fourteen artillerymen out of twenty were killed or wounded; and Colonel Moorhouse, beyond comparison the most valuable officer in the army, received [illegible]nds, the last of which proved mortal, and put an [illegible]s life in half an hour. The guns being able to [illegible]more against the gate, the pioneers demolished a [illegible] mud wall, over which the flank companies of [illegible]egiment rushed, followed by the rest of that [illegible]e Bengal regiment. The garrison, though it [illegible]of two thousand men, dispersed instantly, every [illegible]for the fort as fast as he could. They took [illegible]in their flight, to set fire to the magazine of [illegible]every effort to extinguish it was in vain; and [illegible]he army, during the ensuing siege, suffered the [illegible] distress. At noon, Tippoo's army advanc[illegible]westward, and cannonaded at a distance; but [illegible] the evening, on hearing of the failure of his [illegible]on the pettah. It had been foreseen that his approach was only a feint to cover this design, and a reinforcement of the 76th regiment and two Bengal battalions, had been thrown into it. A detachment from his army of four thousand chosen infantry, passing along the covered way of the fort, entered several streets of the pettah at once, there being no wall or ditch on that side. They

were met by the 36th and 76th regiments, and driven back with the loss of about three hundred men, most of whom fell by the bayonet. The 76th lost forty men, but the 36th only four or five. Though Tippoo remained always near us, we saw no more of him till the 17th. The siege was during that period prosecuted with little advantage. The first battery was eleven hundred yards from the fort. This distant battery, which contained ten eighteen-pounders, was opened on the 12th, along with two enfilading batteries of two guns each. Its effect was just what had been expected; many shot missed the walls, and those which struck were too scattered to make any impression. The enfilading batteries, being within eight hundred yards, did considerable damage to the defences; but it became necessary to make a new breaching battery of nine eighteen-pounders. The spot chosen for it was within four hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and, while it was preparing, two twenty-four-pounders were opened within six hundred yards; but the besieged, as it might be supposed, paying no regard to our distant fire, which could not hurt them, turned all their guns against them, and in a few hours disabled one of them, and obliged us to withdraw the other. On the 16th, the nine-gun battery opened; and though the fire of it was so ill-directed, that Lord Cornwallis threatened to relieve the artillery on duty, unless they managed it better, it ruined so much of the curtains, that the garrison were alarmed, and called on Tippoo to make a diversion: he had been nearer us than usual the preceding day, and an attack was expected, but perhaps not at the hour that it took place. On the 17th, in the morning, Lord Cornwallis was visiting the batteries, when, about eight o'clock, fifteen guns opened suddenly upon the left wing. The nature of the country, which is full of hollow ways, had enabled Tippoo to advance unperceived, and the report of his guns was the first

notice that General Meadows had of his being so near. The line formed without striking tents, and the troops sat on the ground while the enemy kept up a brisk cannonade, which, though distant, did a good deal of execution among the followers crowded together in the centre of the camp between the two lines of infantry, and it also killed or wounded fifty or sixty men in the ranks; which so far got the better of his Lordship's temper, that he determined to advance, and was giving directions to that effect, when Tippoo drew off his army. Then it was observed, for the first time, that a detachment with nine guns, supported by a very large body of horse, had been concealed behind a rising ground, and, from their position, there is little doubt but that they were sent there by Tippoo to enter our camp, whenever we should leave it to advance upon him: they would probably, in such a case, have taken some of our grain, and destroyed all our powder, which would have put an immediate period to the siege.

Tippoo retreated about one o'clock: had he waited half an hour longer, he might have had an opportunity of trying the success of his plans. A new battery of four eighteen-pounders was opened next day within three hundred and fifty yards of the fort; two guns more were afterwards added to it.

The fire of the enemy was now reduced to a thirty-two-pounder from one of the ravelins, and a few small guns from the more distant bastions and some works in the covered way. An approach was begun, and at midnight, on the 20th, a parallel was completed within fifty yards of the sortie. At daybreak, Tippoo seemed to be determined to make a diversion in favour of the besieged: a detachment with four guns approached towards the pettah on the west side, another with ten or twelve guns was posted in a cypress-grove, about a thousand yards to the eastward; and at a little to the southward of it his whole army was

drawn up. Whatever his design was, he relinquished it when we got under arms; and the right wing, under Colonel Stuart, advanced towards him; he was afraid, but I believe with little reason, that the Colonel would turn his right flank, and he retreated immediately to his old ground. The party in the grove, being covered by the fire of the fort, kept their station, and were observed all day to be busily employed in making embrasures in the bank of a tank to enfilade the batteries; and as three of the bastions of the gateway were now breached, and our powder nearly expended, it was resolved to storm in the evening. The troops destined for this service were composed of all the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army, supported by the 36th and 76th regiments. They were commanded by Major S. Kelly, under the orders of Colonel Maxwell, who, as commanding officer in the pettah, had the entire management of the attack. It was a clear moonlight night. They left the trenches a little after ten o'clock; and as they rushed forward by the sortie towards the breach, there was a very heavy but ill-directed fire from the ramparts and the covered way: after a little difficulty in finding out the road along the top of the works which formed the gateway, and passing with ladders some gaps cut in them by the enemy, they ascended the main rampart with very little opposition, for no considerable body of the enemy was formed near the breach; an irregular fire which had begun among them being soon stopped by the officers, they gave three cheers, which were heard as far as the camp: they advanced along the ramparts in two divisions, one to the right, and the other to the left, bayoneting every man they met: few of the guards escaped, for the ramparts were remarkably high, and had few passages for descending. The enemy made scarcely any resistance, but every man endeavoured to save himself: above three hundred were bayoneted in the Mysore gateway, the

passage of which was blocked up by the throng that attempted to get through it. Above twelve hundred fell in different parts of the fort; and among them several women and children, but as few as could be expected in the confusion of taking a place at night by storm. The Killedar, Bahadu Khan, whom Tippoo had brought with him from Tisnaghery, when he left the Carnatic, was among the slain: he had in vain endeavoured to collect a party to make a stand at the breach: he was forced to retreat, and was followed by two soldiers, against whom he defended himself for some time with his sword, calling for quarter; but they either did not, or pretended not, to understand him. They conceived him to be Lally, and they shot him through the head, and stabbed him in many places with their bayonets; his body, covered with a cloth, lay on the rampart the whole of the next day. It was visited by almost every man in the army, and all who saw it, were struck by the nobleness of its appearance. He was a tall robust man, about seventy years of age, with a white beard descending to his middle; and he was altogether one of those majestic figures which bring to the mind the idea of a prophet. All firing ceased, and in less than half an hour from the beginning of the attack, we were in perfect possession of the fort. Tippoo was soon informed of its fate, and he marched off immediately. The greatest part of the garrison, being in the covered way, made their escape to him: of two thousand that were in the fort, most were killed or taken. Our loss did not exceed twenty men. Lord Cornwallis had many reasons to be anxious for the fall of Bangalore. It was stronger than had even been supposed: the enemy had made near twenty embrasures in the bank of the tank, to enfilade the batteries; and though they could not have hurt the nine-gun, they would have silenced the six-gun

battery, and killed many of the troops on duty, and he had not powder left for more than a day.

The country round the camp for several miles had been destroyed by the enemy, and presented nothing but a naked waste of land. All the forage found in the pettah had been consumed by the middle of the month. Five thousand of the public bullocks had died during the last ten days; and there being no slaughter-cattle now remaining, near a hundred carriage-bullocks were taken every day to victual the Europeans. His Lordship, from his uniform steady conduct, deserved success: he never lost sight of his object to follow Tippoo; neither did he in the different cannonades ever permit a shot to be returned; but some favourable circumstances, which he could not possibly have foreseen, also concurred to the accomplishment of his views. The enemy were surprised: they expected the storm on the 20th, and were prepared; but on the 21st, Tippoo having encamped within the range of their guns, they thought themselves safe, and took no precautions to defend the breach; and the noble ditch which surrounded the fort had not been carried in front of the gateway: had we met with it there, it is not unlikely that, before we could have filled it up, we should have been compelled, from want of ammunition, to raise the siege.

The next extract is from a letter dated twelve miles west of Bangalore, 6th July, 1791. It is addressed, like the others, to his father, and carries on the military history.

After the fall of Bangalore, it was barely possible, had every thing been ready for advancing immediately to Seringapatam, to have reduced it before the time at which the western monsoon usually begins; but as it was ap-

prehended that, in case of a rupture in Europe, the French would reinforce Tippoo, and as no great evil was expected to follow the failure of the enterprise, but the termination of the war from its success, it was determined to make the attempt. It was first of all thought necessary to join a body of the Nizam's cavalry, which had been for some time blockading Gunjecottah.

We left Bangalore on the 28th of March, and moved to the northward. Tippoo, who had marched the same day, not knowing we would take that direction, crossed our route by mistake, and lost one of his guns before he could get out of our reach. We continued our march, and the Nizam's General, Taje Wunt, after much irresolution, joined us on the 12th of April, near Chintomany, with fourteen thousand horse.

We reached Venkatgerry on the 18th, where we received a reinforcement, under Colonel Oldham, from the Carnatic, of five battalions of sepoys and a regiment of Bengal cavalry; but of bullocks, which were of no less importance than men, we got a very small supply. The number with which we had gone against Bangalore had scarcely been found sufficient for that service. Twelve thousand had died during the expedition, and they had not been replaced by more than three thousand. The distance to Seringapatam was double that to Bangalore, and there was every reason to suppose that the place itself was more capable of defence; yet we did not hesitate to advance, in order to besiege it, with slenderer means. We hurried away from the head of the pass on the 22d, carrying with us the Nizam's cavalry; though we had already seen that they would distress us greatly by destroying our forage, as they would not venture beyond our outposts to collect it; and that they could be of no use to us, as the whole of them would not face five hundred of the enemy's horse.

We got to Bangalore on the 28th, Tippoo marching on our right about fifteen miles distant. His Lordship here found it necessary to call on the army to assist him in the grand design of reducing the enemy's capital before the monsoon. Almost every officer carried, at his own expense, two or three bullock loads of shot or shells, and the Nizam's troops alone carried five thousand eighteen-pound shot.

The army left Bangalore on the 4th of May, with fifteen battering cannon; and as it was known that Tippoo had laid waste the country on the routes of Cenapatam and Shevagunga, which are the best and the shortest for armies to advance to Seringapatam, we chose a third by Cankanelly, which is both the longest and the most difficult, because we hoped to find grain and forage; but the latter Tippoo burned as we approached; and the country being narrow, woody, and confined on both sides by chains of hills, afforded little of the former.

After much labour and fatigue, and the loss of a great deal of stores, we came in sight of Seringapatam on the 13th, at a place called Arkary. We intended to have crossed the Cavery here, to join Abercromby, who had been for some time posted at Periapatam with a considerable quantity of rice and a battering train. The passage was too deep and too rocky; and there was no other below the fort, except one which led to the island, and which was covered by Tippoo's army in front, and by batteries in the rear. It became, therefore, necessary to dislodge the enemy, in order to reconnoitre it. They were strongly posted, with their right to the river, and their left among a range of hills which ran nearly parallel to the Cavery, about two miles from its bank. Their left being the only part of their line that could be approached, it was determined to attack them there an hour before sunrise.

The distance between the armies was only six miles, but it was ten by the road which led from our right round the hills to their left. Six battalions of Europeans, and twelve of sepoys, destined for this service, marched on the 14th, at eleven at night; but the roads were rendered so deep by an uncommonly severe fall of rain, that they did not come in sight of the enemy till seven next morning. They were then two miles distant, and we moved rapidly to seize a hill which commanded their left. Tippoo saw our design, and very ably counteracted it by pushing forward Cummer ul Din, who commanded his left wing, to occupy it—and favouring this operation by sending a body of cavalry to charge our right as it passed a ravine; which obliging it to advance cautiously, gave time to his own troops to take possession of the post, from whence they instantly commenced a warm enfilading fire, while Tippoo did the same in front.

We suffered a good deal while forming after passing the ravine. Whenever this was accomplished, the hill was attacked and carried, and the enemy driven, though not without resistance, into the island. Tippoo had not more than three thousand horse in the field: he himself showed much judgment and decision in taking up his positions. This was to be expected from his character; but the conduct of his infantry excited much surprise. They stood the fire of musketry, often till our troops were within a few yards of them; they defended every post; they rallied wherever the ground was favourable; and, when at last driven from the field, they retreated without confusion. All this change of behaviour was, however, less owing perhaps to the improvement of their discipline, than to other causes:—the strength of the ground, which, being full of rocks and ravines, afforded them every where shelter, and made it difficult to follow them; and their proximity to the island, the batteries of which covered them from pursuit. Our loss

was about six hundred killed and wounded, and theirs probably not more. We gained nothing by the victory, but the liberty of looking at the island; which it was not thought prudent to attack, as the lateness of the season, and the want of provisions, would not have allowed us to remain on it till the fall of the fort might be expected to take place. We halted some days, and, on the 20th, encamped at Caniambaddy, on the Cavery, eight miles above Seringapatam. A strong detachment of the enemy was seen next day moving towards Periapatam; and as, from the want of cattle, we could not advance to join Abercromby—and as the badness of the weather had put an end to every hope of being able, at this season, to besiege Seringapatam, we ordered the Bombay army to retreat, which they did, leaving behind them all their sick and their battering guns, several of which they did not wait to destroy.

We had by this time lost the greatest part of our cattle: the guns had for the two last marches been brought forward with much difficulty by the assistance of the troops, and the battering train had seldom got to its place before ten at night. The weather too, which had been unfavourable ever since our leaving Bangalore, had now all the appearance of a settled monsoon. The remaining bullocks, it was apprehended, would hardly be able to drag the field-pieces back to Bangalore; and we had only twelve days' rice at half-allowance. In this situation, it became absolutely necessary on the 22d to burst our heavy cannon, to bury the shot, to throw the powder into wells, and to destroy all the other besieging materials. On the 24th, after repairing the passage of the ford, two brigades crossed to favour the retreat of Abercromby; and they were recalled the next day on the arrival of the advices of his escape. On the 26th, we set out on our return to Bangalore; marching but slowly, as the troops

were obliged to assist in dragging the guns, and in carrying the sick and wounded, for whom there were very few conveyances. Before we reached our new camp, we were joined by a few horsemen, who gave us the extraordinary intelligence, that Purseram Bhow, and Hurry Punt, with the Mahratta army, were within a march of us. They had marched above three hundred miles in four weeks; and though they had despatched near a hundred hircarras to give us notice of their approach, the roads were so well watched by Tippoo's irregulars, that not one of them had ever reached us. Their coming, though too late to save our battering train, was, notwithstanding, a very fortunate event for us: they gave us provisions and bullocks, which enabled us to remain for some weeks in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, and to recover our half-starved cattle by the wide range which their cavalry secured to them for grazing: had they not arrived, it is not easy to say what would have been our situation now; we must have marched every day to reach Bangalore on the 4th, till which time we had provisions at half-allowance. Most of the remaining bullocks would have died on the road; and the troops would have got there with little else than their guns, which they must have dragged themselves. But as Bangalore contained but little grain, they could not have halted; but after taking out a small supply, they must have continued their march to the pass near Ambore. The Mahrattas would probably have kept aloof. Tippoo would have followed us, and would perhaps have prevented us from ever getting again beyond Bangalore, to which we would have been obliged to carry supplies, as we did to Vellore in the last war.

From the date of the preceding, up to the month of September, when the army again advanced upon Seringapatam, Mr. Munro was em-

ployed in the arduous and hazardous task of transporting stores from detached depots into camp. It was one of the busiest epochs in his military life; insomuch that, as he informs his sister, "he was sometimes for seven days together without pen or ink, or any kind of baggage." Yet he appears to have found leisure, even then, to keep up a regular correspondence with almost every branch of his family. There is not one of these letters which might not with perfect propriety meet the public eye; but the selection has already swelled to so large amount, and so many yet remain to be ins that I am reluctantly compelled to confi self, on the present occasion, to a few e

It will be seen that Mr. Munro, v ing questions of public importance variably addressed his letters to his fa was the case during the interval now view, when the idea began to be ent a speedy accommodation with Tipp this arrangement Mr. Munro ve gued. He pointed out the great advan the present position of the British ar ed over a prince weakened by repea feats; and treated with the contempt wh merited, a notion then generally entertained, that the utter ruin of the kingdom of Mysore would prove of serious injury to British interests. Of the Mahrattas, at that time held in profound respect, he spoke as of barbarous hordes, totally

incapable of meeting the British in the field, or even seriously injuring the British territory by their inroads; whilst the Nizam he justly represented as a cipher, in spite of the extent of his dominions, through the feebleness of his government, and the disinclination of his troops to adopt an improved system of tactics. It was not so, however, with respect to Tippoo. He possessed an energy of character unknown to other Eastern princes, and ruled with arbitrary sway a people among whom every improvement in the art of war as sedulously cultivated. Such a man, he con-
d, ought to be crushed at once, or at least so
ed as to render him for ever innoxious;
resent seemed to him to be the moment,
best adapted for the accomplishment
In a word, Mr. Munro derided the
h would seek to maintain in India,
ermed in Europe, "the balance of
d argued on the necessity and sound
f the very system of conquest into
ast India Company were eventually

cludes a masterly discussion with the
g sentiments, as just as they are clearly
essed.

Men read books, and because they find that all warlike nations have had their downfal, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous, but unprofitable, from a supposition that the increase of territory must be always followed by a proportionable increase of expense. This may

be true, when a nation is surrounded by warlike neighbours, which, while it gains a province on one side, loses as much on the other; but there are times and situations, where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but brings also additional security. The kings of England knew this when they attempted the reduction of Scotland. There is, however, another example which would apply better to our position in the Carnatic. When Spain was, in the last century, engaged in a war with France and Portugal, would not the possession of the latter country have added much to her strength and security, by removing every possibility of attack from th frontiers of France? By subduing the country below Ghauts, from Poligatcherry to Ambore, we have noth fear. The sea is behind us, and in front we gain a s barrier than we now have, which would enable us fend the country with the present military establis but as this, with the civil expenses, would be nearly e the whole revenue of the country, let us advance to th Kistna, and we shall triple our revenue without having oc casion to add much to our military force; because our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter than it is now. I do not mean that we should all at once attempt t extend ourselves so far, for it is at present beyond o power; but that we should keep the object in view, t the accomplishment of it should require a long se years:—there is no necessity for precipitation. The di sions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors. It can never arrive while Tippoo exists: while his power remains unimpaired, so far from being able to extend our territory, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Why then not remove, while we can, so formidable an enemy? But his system, if not broken, may in time be communicated to the successors of the Nizam, or

other Moorish princes who may hereafter appear in the Deccan. If once destroyed, there is little danger of its being re-established: it would require what may not appear in many ages—another Hyder; and even he would be unequal to the task, without the concurring circumstances of an European war to give him military skill, and a minority and a weak prince to give him a kingdom. Nothing can be more absurd than our regarding any of the native governments as powers which are to last for ages. It would not be surprising if all of them were to cease to exist in the course of twenty or thirty years. Let us then, while we [illegible]n, make the most of the superior stability of our own go[illegible]ment; and if we are not, for inconceivable reasons of [illegible]to extirpate Tippoo, let us at least humble him, by [illegible]ng him of the Malabar coast. When cut off from [illegible]rcourse with Europeans, his political and military [illegible] may linger on during his reign, but will soon ex[illegible]nder a successor.

Mr. Munro was not personally present with the army, either during its advance towards Se[illegible]ngapatam, or at the attack upon the Sultan's [illegible]nes on the night of the 6th of February, 1792. [illegible]narrative of that affair, therefore, though [illegible]drawn up, I abstain from giving, partly be[illegible]e it is avowedly compiled from the reports of others, and partly because it is not calculated to throw any additional light upon a transaction with which the public is already well acquainted: but the following supplement to it is inserted, as eminently characteristic of the peculiar turn of mind which, from the beginning to the end of

his career, distinguished the writer. If there was one disposition more than another which he held in sovereign contempt, it was that which, in too many instances, prompts men to exaggerate the difficulties of an operation for the sake of enhancing the merit of their own services in overcoming these difficulties.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Bangalore, 25th February, 1792.

I REQUESTED Mr. Ross to copy an account of the attack on Tippoo's lines, which I had given him, and send it to my father; if he does not he will lose nothi[redacted] for it was very imperfect, having been manufa[redacted] from at least a dozen of letters from camp; but [redacted] them so filled with puerile, extravagant descriptions, it was almost impossible to annex any distinct ideas to them, or to draw from them any rational conception of the battle.

I could never read one of these letters without cursing heartily G—— and G——, and the whole race of turgid authors, whose corruption has descended even to subalterns, and made language no longer answer its original purpose of conveying ideas.

One fellow calls for the pen of a Homer, and tells you that British arms "shine resplendent."

Another poor man is quite overcome with tumultuous feelings, which, it would appear, prevented him from giving utterance to any one of the thousand ideas which, he asserts, crowded upon his mind to such a degree, as to deprive him of every faculty but—wonder! In this unhappy state, he gives the following animated relation of the engagement:—

"Moonlight—impregnable lines—batteries—ditches—proud Sultan—ferocious tyrant—innumerable horse and foot—British bayonets—triumphant heroes—bloody field—eternally emblazoned on the records of Fame!"

From such records you will hardly wish for any farther extracts.

Soon after the above letter was despatched, Mr. Munro joined the camp before Seringapatam, where he continued to do duty under Captain Read, till the peace. His detail of the events which preceded the negotiation, as well as his sentiments touching the policy of the arrangements entered into, are contained in the subjoined communication to his father:—

(28th April, 1792.

I HAVE written you one or two short letters since the peace: they would have been longer had I not, since the month of January, been employed in a laborious situation, which takes up so much of my time as to leave me none for private correspondence. I write from daybreak till sunset, every day, and at night I am either engaged with idle people, or so much exhausted, as not to be able to think correctly on any subject. I am, besides, so little pleased with the peace, that I cannot without difficulty bring myself either to talk or write of it. When hostilities ceased, Tippoo had no place above the Ghauts from Gurrumconda to Seringapatam. Besides the former of these forts, he had Gooty, Balhari, and Chitteldroog; but all either so distant from the scene of action, or so weakly garrisoned, as to give him no benefit from holding them; he had likewise Kisnagerry in the Barramahl, which

was however, at this time, of no consequence in the operations of the war, because its garrison was not strong enough to attack convoys coming from the Carnatic, and because that the Peddanadurgum Pass, in the neighbourhood of Ambore, being repaired, all convoys, after the month of September, took that road as the most direct to the army. (He had lost the greatest part of his troops by death or desertion in the attack of his lines, and he himself had lost his haughtiness, his courage, and almost every quality that distinguished him, but his cruelty, which he continued to exercise every day on many of the principal officers of his government, particularly Bramins, on the most idle suspicions.) The remains of his infantry were in the fort, and his cavalry on the glacis. He slept at night in the fort; in the great mosque,—for he never visited his palace after his defeat on the 6th; and during the day stayed on the outside amongst his horsemen, under a private tent, from whence he observed, with a sullen despair, the enemies closing in upon him from every side—The Carnatic army, on the north bank of the river, with their approaches, which even on this side were carried within four thousand yards of the wall, and a strong detachment occupying the pettah, and half the island. The Bombay army on the south side, about four miles distant, on the Periapatam road. Purseram Bhow, after ravaging Biddanou advancing by rapid marches to fill up the interval between the right of the Bombay and the left of the Carnatic army, and complete the blockade, and no possibility of protracting the siege, even by the most determined resistance, beyond fifteen days. In this situation, when extirpation, which had been so long talked of, seemed to be so near, the moderation or the policy of Lord Cornwallis granted him peace, on the easy terms of his relinquishing half his dominions to the confederates. Tippoo accepted these

conditions on the 24th of February, and orders were instantly issued to stop all working in the trenches. The words which spread such a gloom over the army, by disappointing not so much their hopes of gain as of revenge, were these:—

"Lord Cornwallis has great pleasure in announcing to the army that preliminaries of peace have been settled between the Confederate Powers and Tippoo Sultan."

His Lordship probably at this time supposed that every thing would soon be finally settled, and that he would be able in a few days to leave a sickly camp, where he was losing great numbers of Europeans; but Tippoo continued to work with more vigour than before the cessation, and used so many delays and evasions in ratifying the definitive treaty, that notwithstanding his having already sent his two eldest sons as hostages, and a million sterling, it was believed that hostilities would be renewed. His Lordship furnished him with the means of protraction, by adopting a revenue, instead of a geographical division of his country. It was stipulated, that the Confederates were to take portions of his territories contiguous to their own, and by their own choice, which should amount to half his revenue. He was desired to send out an account of his revenues, that the selection might be made. He replied that he had none—that they had all been lost at Bangalore and other places; but on being told, that in that case, the allies would make the partition agreeable to statements in their own possession, he sent out accounts in which the frontier countries were overrated, and all those in the centre of his kingdom, which he knew he would retain for himself, undervalued. The fabrication was obvious, not only in this particular, but also in his diminishing the total amount of his revenue about thirty lacks of rupees. The Confederates however, after a few days, consented to submit to this double loss for the sake of peace. But Tippoo,

after gaining one point, determined to try his success on some others. The value of the whole had been fixed; but on proceeding to fix that of the districts which were to be ceded, he threw so many obstacles in the way, that the Allies found themselves at last compelled to adopt the measure with which they ought to have begun. A list was sent to him, which he was told contained half his dominions; and he was desired to put his seal to it. After a delay of two days, he replied that he would neither give up Kishnagerry, Seir Klidroog, nor Gooty. His unwillingness to part with these places, which could only be useful to him in an offensive war, convinced his Lordship of his hostile designs, and made him resolve to insist on their being surrendered: he ordered parties to make fascines, and the young princes to go next morning to Bangalore. The Vakeels of Tippoo, seeing his sons marching off at daybreak, ran and called up Sir John Kennaway, and begged that they might be detained till they should inform the Sultan, and get *another* final answer from him. His Lordship, with his usual mildness, permitted them to halt after they had proceeded about two miles; but still it was not till the 16th, three days afterwards, that the Vakeels signed the treaty; and it did not come out till the 19th with the signature of Tippoo. So much good sense and military skill has been shown in the conduct of the war, that I have little doubt but that the peace has been made with equal judgment. It has given us an increase of revenue amounting to thirty-nine and a half lacs of rupees, which, though from Tippoo's mismanagement of his finances, it has not produced that for some years past, will soon be easily afforded by the country; and by giving us possession of the Baramhaul, it has rendered it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Tippoo to invade the Carnatic in future from the westward,—for the passes from Mysore into the Baramhaul, though good, are few; and though not de-

fended by fortifications, there are so many strong posts near them, that an invading army must either take them, which might require a whole campaign, or else leave them in the rear, and run the risk of being starved by the loss of its convoys. These are, no doubt, great advantages; but because greater might have been with ease obtained, I cannot help thinking but that something has been left undone. Why, instead of stumbling upon revenue accounts, could we not have traced our boundary on the map, taken such places as suited us from their political situation, sent him entirely above the Ghauts, and not left him in possession of Carore and Coimbitore, to plunder our southern provinces, whenever he shall find it convenient to go to war? It is true, that the possession of Poligatcherry will make it always easy for a Bombay army to take Coimbitore, and force him above the Ghauts, with the assistance of a Carnatic army; but to collect our troops is a work of some months, and in that time he may pass Trichinopoly, and ravage the Carnatic as far as Madras; whilst, by driving off the cattle and inhabitants, he may render it difficult for us to equip an army for the field. If we are in a situation to march, he will probably lose Bangalore in the first campaign; but he will always be able to prevent an army without cavalry from besieging Seringapatam; and, while he can do this, he can force us, after an expensive war, to relinquish our conquests for peace. We ought, therefore, to have kept Coimbitore, and established a strong post at Sattimungalum, which would have made an invasion on that side as impracticable as on that of the Barramahl. Tippoo being then without magazines in the low countries, and seeing strong posts in the neighbourhood of all the passes, which could defy his unskilful attacks, and intercept his convoys, would have had no temptation to begin a hopeless war; but as the Allies must also have had a proportional increase of territory, it is

said that he would then have been reduced too low. He would have been more powerful than Hyder was when he usurped the Government, and would have been as able as he to defend his possessions; and if he was not, so much the better; for every person who has seen his army, and that of the other country powers, must be convinced how much is to be feared from the one, and how little from the other.

Lord Cornwallis was apprehensive that he should have been driven to the necessity of taking Seringapatam; and frequently exclaimed, "Good God! what shall I do with this place?" I would have said, "Keep it as the best barrier you can have to your own countries; and be confident that, with it, and such a frontier as the Cavery, skirted by vast ranges of rugged mountains, which make it impassable for an army, from Arakeery to Caveryporam, no Indian power will ever venture to attack you." But every thing now is done by moderation and conciliation;—at this rate, we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more. I am still of the old doctrine, that the best method of making all princes keep the peace, not excepting even Tippoo, is to make it dangerous for them to disturb your quiet. This can be done by a good army. We have one; but as we have not money to pay it, we ought to have taken advantage of our successes for this purpose, and after reducing Seringapatam, have retained it and all the countries to the southward and westward of the Cavery. By doing this, we could have maintained a good body of cavalry; and so far from being left with a weak and extended frontier, the usual attendant of conquests, we should, from the nature of the country, have acquired one more compact and more strong than we have at present. If peace is so desirable an object, it would be wiser to have retained the power of preserving it in our hands, than to have left it to the caprice of Tippoo, who, though he has lost half his revenue,

has by no means lost half his power.) He requires no combination, like us, of an able military governor, peace in Europe, and allies in this country, to enable him to prosecute war successfully. He only wants to attack them singly, when he will be more than a match for any of them; and it will be strange if he does not find an opportunity when the Confederates may not find it convenient to support the general cause. When we have a General of less ability than Lord Cornwallis at the head of the Government, (such men as we have lately seen commanding armies,) Tippoo may safely try, by the means of Gooty, Chitteldroog, and Biddanor, to recover the conquests of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. If Lord Cornwallis himself could not have reduced Tippoo without the assistance of the Mahrattas,—for there is no doubt that without them he could never, after falling back from Seringapatam in May, have advanced again beyond Bangalore,—if his integrity, his sound manly judgment, and his great military talents, could have done nothing, what is to be hoped for from those whom we may expect to supply his room? We cannot look for better than ——— or ——— or ———, men selected from the army as great military characters; but these gentlemen themselves are as well convinced as any private in the army, how cheap Tippoo held them, and how little honour he could have gained by foiling them. One, or rather two, sallied forth; and after spouting some strange, unintelligible stuff, like ancient Pistol, and the ghost of a Roman, lost their magazines by forming them in front of the army, and then spent the remainder of the campaign in running about the country, after what was ludicrously called by the army the invisible power, asking, which way the bull ran?

The other, in May last, on a detachment of Tippoo's marching towards him without ever seeing them, with an army superior to Sir Eyre Coote's, at Porto Novo, shamefully ran away, leaving his camp and his hospital behind;

and in advancing in February, a second time, when Tippoo had lost the greatest part of his army, he allowed a few straggling horse to cut off a great part of his camp equipage, and would have lost the whole had not Colonel Floyd been sent with a small detachment to bring him safely past the ferocious Tippoo. The Colonel found him as much dismayed as if he had been surrounded by the whole Austrian army, and busy in placing an ambuscade to catch about six looties;—he must have been a simple looty that he caught. Lord Cornwallis said one day, on hearing that the looties had carried away nine elephants, near Savendroog, "that they were the best troops in the world, for that they were always doing something to harass their enemies;" and I am confident that Tippoo has not lost a looty in his army, who is not a better soldier than any of these three Generals. Had his Lordship not arrived, Tippoo would have been too much for them all, and their confederates at their back. These characters have led me out of my way, or I should have said a great deal more about the armies of the Native Powers, the old subject of Tippoo as a barrier against the Mahrattas, and some oversights which his Lordship had nearly committed, when he intended sending Medows with a part of the army to Assore to wait for him;—but I feel myself getting blind, and am besides afraid of losing the Manship, if I have not done so already.

Your affectionate Son,
(Signed) THOMAS MONRO.

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the definitive treaty was no sooner signed and ratified, than the British army broke up, and the several divisions of which it was composed returned each to its own presidency.

Large as the selection may appear, which has been made from Mr. Munro's correspondence at this period, many highly interesting letters have been omitted, chiefly because they refer to circumstances long gone by, or narrate events in which the public is not now likely to take much interest. In some of these, the opinions of the writer, touching the talents of the different Generals under whom he served, are very freely given. He speaks of Lord Cornwallis, for example, as of a man possessed of more than moderate abilities, cool in the hour of danger, and not unskilful in manœuvring; but by no means competent to arrange the important details of the commissariat, or happy in his system of magazines and depots. In like manner, his estimate of the military genius of Sir Eyre Coote is extremely favourable; but with these exceptions, he says of the officers employed from time to time in separate commands, that they were, one and all, totally unqualified to fill so important a trust. "Never having been placed," says he, "in situations which required the exertion of thought, when they were cast ashore in India, with Tippoo in their neighbourhood, they were lost. They held his abilities as a General too cheap—rated their own too high, or despised the advice of those who, from greater experience in Indian warfare, were well qualified to give it." Yet was he prompt to bestow praise, and ready to encourage hopes, wherever there appeared scope

for the one, or reason for the other. Thus, of Colonel Floyd's gallantry, he invariably speaks in terms of the highest commendation; whilst of Colonels Fullerton and Kelly he makes frequent mention, as of officers from whom great things might be expected, providing fitting opportunities for the display of their talents were afforded. Unfortunately, the one quitted India, and the other died, before the expectations of Mr. Munro could be realized.

Notice has already been taken of Mr. Munro's excessive abhorrence of the practice of exaggeration, to which men employed in the field are sometimes addicted. One example of his mode of turning into ridicule the extravagant narratives of his contemporaries, has been given; and many more are kept back, only from an apprehension that a repetition of such details might fatigue; but the following reasons assigned by himself for giving at length the description of certain affairs in which he was engaged, are too characteristic of the man to be withheld. "I have described these battles at greater length," says he, "because partial accounts, framed not from the impression made of them by the scene itself, but from after exaggerated reports, to serve the purpose of procuring honour, without deserving it, have already appeared in the papers of India, and will soon pass into those of Europe, to be stared at and admired by members of Parliament. I have seen some public letters near the truth, but in general

they are so wide of it, that I have renounced an opinion which I once held—that they are the best documents of history." I may be permitted to add to this, that from the commencement to the close of his career, the idea of aiming at distinctions which he was conscious not to have merited, was of all others the most abhorrent to the principles of Sir Thomas Munro. Ambitious he doubtless was;—where is the man of real talent who is not ambitious?—but his ambition urged him to *deserve* honours and rewards; by no means surreptitiously to procure them. I cannot better close this chapter than by the insertion of the following letters to his brother: they are replete with fine feeling and admirable views of human nature.

TO HIS BROTHER JAMES.

DEAR JAMES,

It is now a good while since I wrote you,—but you never told me whether or not you received my last letter. Your silence, I am afraid, is owing to bad health, or the consequence of it,—low spirits. Graham tells me that he has been ill, and that you are but poorly, and that he thinks Kishnagerry unhealthy: but if there are not other instances against the place, your case and his are not sufficient to condemn it. You gave me no answer what steps you were taking to get a horse, or if I should write to Captain Dallas about one for you. Your anxiety after home will leave you by degrees. I had as much of it as you for a year after my arrival; but having good health, and something to take up my attention in camp,

it soon left me. Nothing is so bad as moping and shutting yourself (unless absolutely unable to go out) up from society. You should mix with all men, and enter into all boyish amusements, and not suppose that it is necessary to imitate the formality of the learned in Europe. You have a strange, or, rather I should say, ill-founded idea, —for many young people have it,—that happiness is to be found only in living in retirement with a few of our school or college friends. Nothing can be more absurd than such a sentiment: our attachment to early acquaintances is as frequently owing to chance placing us together,—to being engaged in the same studies or amusements, as to worth or merit of any kind. Such friends are not selected; and therefore men, as they advance in years, drop them for others they think better of; and if they retain an affection for any of them, it is perhaps only for one or two who may possess those qualities which they would wish chosen friends to possess, though it may have been circumstances very different from those qualities that first formed the attachment. If among your school-friends there are many who are worthy of a warm friendship, you have been more fortunate than I; for though I was happy with my companions at home, when I pass them in review, and recollect their habits, tempers, and dispositions, I can hardly see more than one or two whose loss I can with reason regret. Whatever you may think now, you may be assured that those who have now the first place in your esteem will give way to objects more deserving, because chosen when your discernment was more mature. It must be confessed that there is a satisfaction in the company of men engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves; but it does not follow that they alone are deserving of our friendship, and that there is no happiness in the society of other men. I like an orientalist, a politician, a man that walks and swims, or plays fives, because I like all

these things myself; but I at the same time have perhaps a greater friendship for a man who cares for none of these amusements. Your affectionate Brother,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

You should learn to play whist to pass the evenings.

TO THE SAME.

[A continuation of the subjects discussed in the last.]

Orcottah, 29th October.

MY DEAR JAMES,

I HAVE received your letters of the 16th and 18th, and also one from your friend Mr. Bryden. Your mutual attachment is a proof of the good disposition of both, and I wish your desire of continuing together could be effected without injury to either; but this, from the nature of the service, can only be done while at the General Hospital, where no man can wish to remain, except with the view of gaining some experience of the country practice. But there are other claims upon you besides those of friendship. The expense of your outfit was considerable, and our father is in no situation to pay it off. To enable him to do this ought to be your first object. A vacant situation now presents itself, which if you can secure, it may be the means of attaining this end. The 15th battalion wants a surgeon, and I have written to Mr. Duffin to get you appointed to it. If you succeed, you will have no cause to regret the loss of your friend: you will be under an intimate friend of mine; and, what is better, a most excellent man,— Captain Alexander Read; and you will also have as a companion your townsman George Kippen. With them you will not find yourself among strangers, but, in two days, more at home than you have been since you left Glasgow. Your backwardness to

going into company is, I suspect, almost as strong a motive as friendship for your wishing to remain at Madras; but you will find that there is no occasion for that kind of diffidence when you come here. And I should likewise hope, that by moving about, and having less employment than at Madras, your health will improve.

Your affectionate Brother,
(Signed) THOS. MUNRO.

The following extracts from letters addressed to the same individual, on his first arrival in India, possess too much sterling merit to be omitted. They deserve to be studied by all young men, when first starting into life.—

Though I am, in many respects, a greater boy than you; yet, as I have had the start of you in this country, I will venture to give you some hints. Do not wonder at any thing you see; or if you do, keep it to yourself. Do not pester people with questions about me, for men in general are as much disgusted with hearing a person talk of his relations as of himself. My father says you are diffident. I rejoice to hear it; for it is a fault more easily corrected than forwardness. You have no reason to be alarmed at what is called launching out into the world. A little experience will convince you, that it is composed neither of wiser nor of better people than you have seen in small circles. Play your own character without affectation, and be assured that it will soon procure you friends. Do not distrust your own medical skill; if you do, you are a wonderful doctor. In this country, a good understanding, sound principles, and consistency of character, will do more for you than a thousand discoveries concerning muscular motion.

Again—

If you are ordered to remain at Madras, you will not, I am convinced, despise the country practice like some young men, because it differs from that of Europe; but be diligent and active in the discharge of your duty, as the best means of establishing your character, and recommending yourself to your superiors. I hope you have too much sense to visit punch-houses, and too much spirit to get drunk. You will find books enough at Mr. Ross's to amuse you when you are not attending to more urgent business; and if you want exercise, you have a delightful walk on the sea-shore.

CHAPTER III.

Appointment to the Revenue Department under Colonel Read. —Letters from the Baramhaul.—Second war with Tippoo. —Fall of Seringapatam.

We have hitherto followed the fortunes of Mr. Munro as a soldier actively employed in the field, and made a selection from his correspondence, chiefly with a view of illustrating his feelings and turn of thought, whilst in the immediate presence of the enemy. We come now to a new era in his career, when, being appointed to assist Captain Read in the arrangement of the ceded district of Baramhaul, he may be said to have passed, for a time, from the military to the civil service. The circumstances under which so great a change was effected are nairrated in part by himself; but of certain important matters, of which he has given no account, it will be necessary to say something.

Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that in the year 1792 there was a

deplorable deficiency among the civil servants of the Company, in acquirements, the possession of which is now justly esteemed indispensable in persons employed in the administration of judicial and revenue affairs. Accustomed to trust entirely to their native assistants, very few collectors or magistrates were acquainted with the languages of the country, or knew any thing of the habits, customs, dispositions, or prejudices of the people entrusted to their care. All public business was, in consequence, carried on through the instrumentality of interpreters, against whose fidelity, though strong doubts might be entertained of it, no charge could be brought. Now, though such a state of things might exist, and did exist with comparative harmlessness, at the Presidency, and within the narrow tract immediately attached to it, where the people had long been habituated to the British system, and were become in a certain degree reconciled to it, any attempt to introduce it into a province like the Barramahl would have argued an excess of infatuation in the authorities which made it. The inhabitants of the Barramahl were principally Hindoos, who for ages had been guided by their own customs. Of the Company, or of its mode of acting, they knew nothing; and they were moreover, at this particular juncture, labouring under the miseries incident upon having their country made the theatre of recent war. To have committed to men ignorant of their dialect the charge of introducing among them the Com-

pany's authority, would have been an act of absolute insanity. Lord Cornwallis was not the person to fall into a blunder so gross as this; and he consequently made choice of military men, of whose fitness for the task he had obtained the most satisfactory proofs, to reconcile the people of Barramahl to their new masters. On this account it was, that Captain Read received his appointment, in preference to any of the revenue officers properly so called; and he, for the very same reason, chose as his assistants Lieutenant Munro, with two other military gentlemen.

The sensation created by these arrangements among the civil servants at Madras was very great. No instance of the kind had ever occurred before; and the parties passed by, regardless of the causes which led to it, spoke loudly of the whole transaction as a heavy grievance. Perhaps there was nothing extraordinary in this. It very seldom happens that men see things in their proper light, at the instant when a real or imaginary affront is received; and the Madras civilians would have incurred no serious blame, had they contented themselves with a few passing expressions of discontent. But unfortunately the matter ended not here. There arose an excessive jealousy of the military in general, and of the individuals thus employed in the revenue department in particular, which ceased not to work long after they had shown themselves in every respect qualified for the duties imposed upon them. Towards Mr.

Munro, indeed, it continued to operate with marked bitterness throughout the remainder of his public life, and its violence appeared to obtain fresh strength according to the progress which he made from one post of honour to another. Yet let justice be done to the civil servants. All were not actuated by unworthy feelings, whilst a spirit of emulation was stirred up which has produced the happiest effects, by inducing them to apply diligently to those studies, their backwardness in which alone brought upon them the disgrace of which they complained.

It was in the month of April, 1792, that Mr. Munro entered upon the duties of his new office, which he continued to discharge, up to the spring of 1799; and perhaps there was no period of his active life on which he ever looked back with greater satisfaction. It is true, that his duties were neither few nor unimportant. Besides the care of attending to the revenue accounts, and of keeping up a constant official correspondence with the Board, Mr. Munro was under the necessity of travelling continually from one part of his district to another, for the purpose of ascertaining from personal observation the condition of the people, and the capabilities and produce of the soil. Yet the climate appears to have been favourable; the face of the country was agreeable; and the means of intercourse with European society, if not ample, were at least not absolutely wanting. The consequence was, that

almost all his letters, dated from various stations in the Baramhaul, breathe a spirit of unceasing cheerfulness and good-humour, whether they discuss, as those addressed to his father usually do, subjects of Indian or European politics, or refer to points of literary or philosophical inquiry, as not unfrequently occurs in his correspondence with his sister. The following letter to his father, among other matters, gives an account of the circumstances which led to his acceptance of civil employment, and may therefore, not inaptly, be placed at the head of the present selection.

Derampoory, 14th April, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

IT will be unnecessary to say much of myself, as James* will tell you every thing you can wish to know respecting me; and also George Kippen, of whom you are so anxious that I should make honourable mention. I believe I have already told you, that I am perhaps more indebted to him than to Lord Cornwallis, or any body else, for my present appointment; for I declined once or twice Captain Read's proposals for acting with him again, between the months of July and October 1791, because the conclusion of the war, at that time, appeared still distant. I thought it improper to quit the grand army to join a detachment, employed only in the escort of provisions, and always far removed from the scene of action. Read, however, thought it a want of friendship, and applied for other assistants. His Lordship refused them: Kippen, on this, immediately set to work; puffed me off every where, as he does in Glasgow; talked and wrote to Read and me;

* One of his brothers, who returned to Europe at this time in bad health.

and at last persuaded me to write that I had no objections to being employed in the revenue. The moment this was done, I was ordered to join Read at Bangalore. I formerly gave myself the merit of having been entirely influenced in this affair by the accounts of your situation at home; but had Kippen not exerted himself, I would certainly not have quitted the army; so that you see I have some reason for being "proud of my friend." You must not take all his expressions about me in a literal sense: he is so great a politician, that he thinks it necessary to make use of parliamentary-constitutional language on all occasions. A proud day, "proud of my honourable friend," are not reserved for me alone—every man that he meets with becomes, almost at the first blush, entitled to such honourable distinction; he wishes that people should not only be on good terms with themselves, but also with him; and both these ends he accomplishes, by being proud of his friends. When his reports are confirmed by ——— and other Indian travellers, you will hardly suspect that they have very little foundation. The ——— is a worthy man, and was much esteemed in this country; but I perceive by your letters, that his good-nature sometimes gets the better of his sincerity:—but what could he do? you anticipated his answers to your questions, and he was too polite to contradict you: you will perhaps not let me off so easy, when I tell you that he is a greater stranger to me than to you; and that you had more conversation with him at your first meeting, than I have had in the whole course of our acquaintance. I don't remember ever having been in company with him. I have sometimes rode in a crowd with him on the march during Hyder's war; and I believe the only tête-à-tête I ever had with him, was on Owen's expedition, when one of my legs swelled in consequence of standing all night in a torrent, that came down upon us in a narrow valley;—he

attended me constantly twice a day for about a week, till I got well. From all this, I could not have supposed that he could have given you any other information about me than that we once had some very interesting conversation on fomentations.

I mentioned to you, in a former letter, the amount of my allowances, and that beyond them I cannot get a sixpence. I observe the Glasgow politicians have given a large fortune to Captain Read, and some *pickings* to me. Read is no ordinary character; he might, in Mysore, have amassed as much money as he chose, and by fair means too; but he was so far from taking advantage of his situation for this purpose, that he even gave up his bazaar, and many other perquisites of his military command, and received nothing but his prize-money and commission, which altogether, I believe, amounted to about six thousand pounds. Whatever I might have done had I been left to myself, I could get no pickings under such a master, whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honour and the public interest. These, and an unwearied zeal in whatever he undertakes, constitute the great features of his character. The enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects, which seizes other men by fits and starts, is in him constant and uniform. These qualities, joined to an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people, and a happy talent for the investigation of every thing connected with revenue, eminently qualify him for the station which he now fills with so much credit to himself and benefit to the public. He will however, I am afraid, be removed in March, or, at the farthest, July 1794, in order to conform to system, which requires that civilians only should be collectors. I have urged him to address Lord Cornwallis, to solicit a continuation in office; but I don't believe he will do it; his principle is to exert himself, and to leave it to Government to discover the necessity of employing him.

When we were together at Seringapatam, during the cessation, I prevailed on him to apply for the management of the Baramhaul. His Lordship replied, that he could not venture to interfere, for it would bring all the civilians on his head. He however, a few days after, actually sent him a commission, to command the forts in the ceded provinces, and to settle the revenue. Read was, however, of opinion, and I believe he was right, that Lord Cornwallis would have done this of himself, without any solicitation on his part.

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following is addressed to his sister, and breathes the same lively but reflective spirit which gives a tone to all his lighter correspondence.

Kishnagherry, 23d January, 1793.

DEAR ERSKINE,

DANIEL, after all his disappointments, is, I believe, in a fair way of doing well; he is engaged in the indigo business, which has lately become of great consequence in Bengal, and is still rapidly increasing; and I imagine he attends closely to it; for Alexander says nothing of his having made excursions for several months. If he can only, in the course of a year or two, get clear of debt, and make a little money of his own, there can be no danger afterwards; for it is probable that success will give him a confidence which will not be shaken by any trifling losses he may in future experience. Alexander says, however, that he is the most desponding of mortals, and that he is always foreseeing calamities that never happen. This is quite different from me; for, though I have been half-starved for these dozen years, I have never ceased to look, with great confidence, for some signal piece of good fortune; and though I have, to be sure, been mistaken, this has had no other effect than that of making me more san-

guine; for I don't reason, as philosophers do, from analogy, and other such matters. I don't say, bad luck to-day, and worse to-morrow; but rather, that bad luck, like other things, must have an end,—that mine having already lasted so long, is a strong argument that I cannot have much more of it; and that I may therefore, like Quixote, very reasonably suppose myself to be on the point of achieving some rare adventures. And should I go on for another dozen years in the same way as the last, my confidence will hardly be diminished. Were it possible that I could, by any supernatural means, be informed that I should never be independent in my fortune, it would not, I believe, sit very heavy on my mind; for I have considered very seriously the consequences likely to follow my acquiring what is called a moderate fortune, and I have doubted if I should be more happy with it than I am without it.

After spending a great part of my life in India, I should not easily reconcile myself to sitting down quietly in a corner with people among whom, as I should begin my acquaintance so late, I should perhaps always remain a stranger. Should the want of society tempt me to fall in love, and get a wife, such a change would, I fear, add little to my happiness. Would it not be a very comfortable matter, about the end of the century, to read in the Glasgow Courier—"Yesterday was married Lieutenant Munro, the eldest subaltern in the East India Company's service, to Miss ——, one of the eldest maiden ladies of this place. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Mr. ——, in the Ramshorn, and immediately after the happy couple," &c. I have no relish, I suspect, for what is called domestic felicity. I could not endure to go about gossiping, and paying formal visits with my wife, and then coming home and consulting about a change in our furniture, or physicking some of the squalling children that Providence might bless us with. You will say—"You will be a more

respectable character at home, settled with your family, than wandering about India like a vagabond." But I cannot perceive that the one situation is more creditable than the other. Men, in general, go home, and stay in this country, for the same reason—to please themselves—not to raise their own or the national character; and the greater part of them go to their graves without having done either much good or much harm in this world. Why should I be eager to scrape together a little money, to go and linger through twenty or thirty dull years, in a family way, among my relations and neighbours? In a place like Glasgow, I should be tired in all companies with disputes about the petty politics of the town, of which I know nothing; and anecdotes of families, in whose concerns I am no way interested. Among the merchants, I should be entertained with debates on sugar and tobacco, except when some one touched upon cotton, which would give me an opportunity of opening my mouth, and letting the company know that I had been in India, and seen one species growing on bushes, and another on trees taller than any that adorn the Green. After thus expending all my knowledge, I should not again venture to interrupt the conversation. Should I, after being tired of preserving silence among these gentlemen, saunter towards the College, for the purpose of having some discourse on general topics of literary taste, of which men in all professions may talk, and, in some measure, judge; here I should encounter the prejudices and dissensions of small societies. If I spoke to Mr. Richardson of Macbeth, he would probably start, and reply in a fine frenzy—"John Anderson hath murdered sleep!"—and send me home in amazement, like Hamlet, "with each particular hair on end." After making my escape from the professor of the "rolling eye," should I give up the men in despair, and hasten to some of my old female acquaintances, to see if they talked any

thing nearer the level of common understanding, I should very likely find them in high argument on some abstruse point of the mitre and pine-apple schisms.

In a place filled with nothing but sectarians of some kind or other, I should search in vain for any rational entertainment; and, instead of congratulating myself on having been able to return and live in my native country, I should look back with regret to the society and the interesting wars of India. It is this circumstance,—the not perceiving any new sources of honour or happiness that could arise to me from the possession of money, that makes me indifferent about it, any farther than just to get enough to place me above want. My indifference, however, is only confined to a moderate fortune; it does not extend to a great one; for that would enable me to spend money without troubling myself much about accounts, and to live in any part of the world I should like best. I could have my town and country-house, where you might display your taste without beggaring me. We should look out for a spot with plenty of wood; rocks and water would be wanting to complete the landscape,—but these are easily found in Scotland.

After putting you in possession of these three great elements of natural beauty, I should expect that you would lay out the *policy*, and that you would manage your rocks, and woods, and cascades, in such a way as to make me fancy myself in Arcadia, or the Candia of Mr. Savary, or the fabulous Tinian of Anson; and if they were not to my taste, I should entreat James's poetical friend, Mr. ——, to celebrate both you and them in his unwieldy numbers. But we can talk more of this when some of my dreams are realized. James has, I believe, said every thing you can wish to know of himself and me. I expect your chef-d'œuvre, Margaret's picture, in a few days, from Madras.

Your affectionate Brother.

Mr. James Munro, to whom several of the letters introduced into the preceding chapter are addressed, was a young man of exceedingly delicate constitution and sensitive mind. After vainly struggling, for some time, against the influence of a tropical climate, he was compelled at last to quit the country, in which his prospects, had he been able to remain, were becoming daily more and more bright. The following observations, suggested by that event, contain so much truth and genuine philosophy, that I transcribe them at length. They are contained in a letter which is addressed to Mr. Munro's sister, and bears date 25th April, 1793.

The first part of this letter is missing.

I consider life as valuable, merely in proportion to the comforts and pleasures it affords; and I would rather have them strewed through its whole course, than treasured up for its last remnants. It appears to me little better than madness for a man to expend his best days in toiling through a perpetual succession of irksome scenes, from the absurd hope of retiring to happiness, when the period of enjoyment is gone. If James, by visiting Europe again, acquire one idea, or an hour of comfort more than he could have done by remaining in India, I shall think him well employed—much better than if he had, while lingering under a painful disorder in this country, amassed a large fortune in the course of a number of years, and retired at an advanced age, among his relations, to build a house and take a wife; as if he lived only for posterity, or as if we were all created, like Jews in the Old Testament, solely for the purpose of filling up so many links in a chain of prophets. The two next years

will be probably the happiest of all James's life, and those to which he will hereafter, with most fondness, look back, instead of two years of constant pain under the burning rock of Kishnagerry; he will recover his health, and return to his friends and native country, when he has been long enough absent to make him impatient to see them, but not to diminish his attachment. He will sail, I hope, in the King George, in the first week in May. You will find him as Scottish as ever: he will however, I dare say, presume upon his travels, and venture to correct your pronunciation, and perhaps even ourfather's in the Sunday evening sermons.

The following letter to his father speaks for itself. It is only necessary to observe, that his relatives, with natural pride, had on several occasions communicated his remarks on revenue matters to men in power,—a custom which he very judiciously discourages. It was written during one of his official tours, and bears date

Bank of the Cavery, opposite to Erode,
31st January, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

I SEE that you catch at every thing from which you think that there is any chance of my drawing the smallest benefit hereafter; but I suspect that my communications will not much forward the accomplishment of your wishes: they might raise the curiosity of Mr. P., but could give him no very favourable opinion of me. This however is of little importance, as it is not likely that his sentiments will ever affect my views, either in one way or another; but had I sent the statement, though it could have done me no service, it might in his hands have

done me much injury. My opinions on this subject are already known to the Revenue Board as individuals, though never communicated to them as a public body. They are anxious to gain information from every quarter, in order to reform past abuses. Whatever is given privately, they take in good part; but it cannot be supposed they would relish a newspaper attack. It is of more consequence for me to be well with them than Mr. P., for my future progress must depend on my own exertions and their support. There is but little probability that he would interest himself about me; and if he did, it can hardly be imagined that Mr. Dundas would, upon such a recommendation, take any step in my favour; his doing so would be highly improper, for it is from the reports of the Government and the Board of Revenue, under whom I immediately act, and not from my own, that he ought to form his judgment of my fitness for being entrusted with a civil employment.

Great additions might certainly be made to the Company's revenue on the coast. The first step should be to find proper men to manage it; for, unless this is done, every attempt at improvement will be in vain. No man should get the charge of a district, who does not understand the language of the natives; for, unless he had perseverance enough for this, he will never have enough for a collector; and he would besides be kept under the dominion of his servants, and ignorant of every thing that was passing around him. Government have at last been convinced of the necessity of such a regulation; and Sir Charles Oakeley, just before he departed, issued an order, that after the 1st of January, 1796, no person would be appointed a collector who did not understand some of the country languages. To this knowledge and zeal in fulfilling the duties of their station, collectors should also unite a sound constitution, capable of bearing heat and fatigue; for if they are not active in going about their districts, and seeing every thing themselves,

the petty officers under them, in combination with the head-farmers, will make away with the revenue on pretence of bad seasons. In this country, where there are so few Europeans, and where all business of taxation is transacted in a strange language, Government have scarcely any means of learning how the collector conducts himself, except from his own reports; and to think of preventing his embezzlements by multiplying official checks, would only be an idle waste of time and money. This evil, which can never be entirely removed, would best be remedied by selecting men of industry and talents, and placing them beyond the necessity of perverting the public money to their private use. A collector ought to have at least a thousand pagodas a month; he will probably have been eight or ten years in the country before he receives his appointment; and allowing that he remains ten more, and that he annually spends half his income, which he may do without being very extravagant, by having no fixed place of abode, and keeping an extra number of servants and horses for frequent travelling, he may, at the end of twenty years, return home not much richer than he ought to be. The Revenue Board made some time ago an application for an increase of salary to collectors, which Government rejected, with great marks of displeasure; but, in doing this, they showed little knowledge either of true policy or human nature; for when men are placed in situations where they can never become independent by their avowed emoluments, but where they may also, by robbing the public without any danger of discovery, become so on a sudden, the number of those who would balance which side to take, is so small, that it ought not to be brought into the account. We see every day collectors, who always lived above their salary, amassing great fortunes in a very few years. The operation by which this is accomplished is very simple. When rents are paid in money, by giving Government a rent-roll below

the real one, and when in kind, by diminishing the produce of the land, or of the sales. It is in vain to say that collectors, being men of education and character, will not descend to such practices; the fact is against this conclusion. It is the same thing whether it is done by themselves or by those under them. It may be said, that their gains arise from the successful trade of their agents; but when these very agents are invested with all their authority, and can, by pushing the payment of the rents, and other contrivances, get the whole produce of the lands into their hands at their own price, it is easy to see how dear such a trade costs both Government and the people. The immediate deduction, though considerable, is not all the loss that revenue sustains,—the obstruction of improvement ought also to be reckoned; for men occupied in such schemes cannot have much leisure to attend to the extension of cultivation.

The collector cannot expect that the country is to flourish, when he himself has given the signal to plunder it. The numerous band of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed; but they now act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers, in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours. This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippoo, under the Company, and, I believe, under every government in India. The collectors and their deputies, not being paid, help themselves, and by this means the country is often as much harassed in peace as in war. The private dividend among Tippoo's managers is from twenty to forty per cent. A great part of the Nabob's revenues are remitted through agents to Madras, at three and four per cent. per month. The rents in some parts of the Carnatic are regulated by the grain sown, every kind pay-

ing a different rate, and in others they are levied in kind; and, in all, the leases are annual. Where the rents are fixed according to the grain, the lands are measured every year. The surveyors, in making their reports, are guided by the bribes they receive, and a thousand frauds are practised both on the farmers and the Government; and where they are collected in kind, the produce of the land is either thrown upon the cultivator, at a price much above its value, or else a standard is fixed for the market, below which no person can sell until the whole of the public grain has been disposed of. Such wretched management, one would think, must soon ruin the country; but the universal custom of early marriages is favourable to population; and the inhabitants, under all their oppressions, seldom quit their native villages, because they are attached to them, and can go no where that they will not experience the same treatment. They soon forget their wrongs, for they must live; and they again cultivate their fields the succeeding year, with the certainty of being plundered in the same manner as the last. This insecurity of property, though a great obstacle to the increase of revenue, does not diminish it much; for, as the greatest part of it is at present drawn from grain, the source of it cannot be lessened in any great degree, without starving the inhabitants; and they will not want subsistence as long as it can be provided so easily. A man has only to furnish himself with a couple of bullocks,—a plough hardly costs a sixpence. If he turns up the soil three or four inches, and scatters his seed, he is sure of a sufficient return. Were we to abandon our present oppressive mode of taxation, the country, instead of rice and dry grain, would be covered with plantations of betel, cocoa-nut, sugar, indigo, and cotton; and the people would take a great deal of our manufactures, for they are remarkably fond of many of them, particularly of scarlet;

but, unfortunately, few of them can afford to wear it. Many Bramins use a square piece of it as a cloak, during the wet and cold weather; but I don't remember ever seeing any of the farmers with it. When they can appear fine, and think there is no danger in doing so, there is no doubt but that great numbers of them will substitute it for the camly, a coarse thick woollen stuff, with which all of them are provided, which they carry in all seasons to defend themselves from the sun and rain, and on which they sit by day and sleep by night.

It is a mistaken notion that Indians are too simple in their manners to have any passion for foreign manufactures. In dress, and every kind of dissipation but drinking, they are at least our equals. They are hindered from taking our goods, not by want of inclination, but either by poverty, or the fear of being reputed rich, and having their rents raised. When we relinquish the barbarous system of annual settlements; when we make over the lands, either in very long leases, or in perpetuity, to the present occupants; and when we have convinced them, by making no assessments above the fixed rent, for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, we shall see a demand for European articles, of which we have at present no conception. If we look only to the security of our own power in this country, it would perhaps be wiser to keep the lands, as they now are, in the possession of Government, giving them to the inhabitants in leases of from five to twenty years, than to make them over to them for ever, because there is reason to fear that such a property may beget a spirit of independence, which may one day prove dangerous to our authority; but neither the present revenue, nor any future increase of it, can be depended upon, while our military force is inadequate to the defence of our territories, and while the enemy can ravage them, and drive

away the people, without our being able to hinder them. We require for this purpose at least six or seven thousand cavalry: an invasion would cost us more in six months than the additional expense of such a corps would amount to in ten years. While our army is composed only of infantry, our power here will always be in the most critical situation in the time of war; for one defeat may ruin us; because against an enemy strong in horse, defeat and extirpation are the same. He may lose many battles without much injury to his affairs, because we cannot pursue; but by one victory he annihilates our army. It was on this principle that Hyder fought us so often in 1781; and had he once defeated Sir Eyre Coote, he would soon have been master of every place in the Carnatic but Madras. Four or five thousand horse might just now lay waste the Carnatic, and Tippoo, by following rapidly with the main body, might make it a very difficult and tedious business for us to collect our scattered army to oppose him. He might, in the mean time, collect and drive off the inhabitants; the communication with his own country would be secured by posting a detachment at Policade,—for Kishnagerry, the only place of consequence in the neighbourhood, is above fifteen miles from the great road, and as the garrison is only one battalion, no party could be spared from it to interrupt the march of his convoys. But if we had six or seven thousand cavalry, such an invasion could not with safety be attempted: irregular horse would not venture alone into the Carnatic; and if they waited till Tippoo marched with his infantry, our army might be drawn together in time to oppose him at entering, or at least to overtake him before he could reascend the Ghauts. He might be forced to fight, and the loss of a battle, at so great a distance from home, and against an enemy now strong in cavalry, might be attended by the total destruc-

tion of his army. There is no way of protecting the country but by such a body of horse: it would be more effectual than a dozen of forts. The revenues of the Carnatic, under proper management, might, in a few years, yield the additional sum that would be required for this establishment.

It is of the greatest importance to have a well-appointed army, not only to carry us successfully through a war, but also to deter any of our neighbours from attacking us; because, whether beaten or not, they still receive some new instruction in the military art. Though they are averse to innovations, yet the force of example will at last operate on them as well as on other people. Their improved mode of carrying on war is a sufficient proof of this; and if they continue to make such advances as they have done under Hyder, Scindiah, and Tippoo, they will, in thirty or forty years, be too powerful for any force that we can oppose to them. It is on this account very absurd policy to keep two battalions with the Nizam, to teach him, or his successor, to fight us. He has already formed above twenty corps on the same model. We have got a strange fancy, that, for the sake of the balance of power, it is necessary to support him against the Mahrattas; but we have less to fear from them than from him and Tippoo; because the Moors are more ready than the Hindoos in adopting the improvements of strangers, and are likewise, by the spirit of their religion, strongly impelled to extend their empire. I am convinced, that were the Mahrattas to overturn both the Mohammedan powers, we would be more secure than at present. They would see that nothing was to be gained by attacking us, and would therefore let us remain quiet, and either fight among themselves, or turn their arms to the northward; and when they had only Asiatics to contend with, they would by degrees lose the

little of European discipline which they have already learned. I believe I have all this time only been repeating what I have often said to you before.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate son,

(Signed) THOS. MUNRO.

The following letters to his sister contrast powerfully with the preceding. The first contains an ingenious and amusing attack upon the principles of French philosophy, exhibiting the writer in the character of a humorous satirist; the second, playful and lively in part, is, at the same time, replete with sound thinking and correct views.

TO HIS SISTER.

Wamlere, 5th March, 1795.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I FIND that all my arguments in favour of ignorance and old customs have been lost upon you, and that I might as well have attempted to put out the light of Mrs. Mary Woolstonecroft, as to turn the heart of such a stubborn reformer as you are now become. All nations are now, it seems, to be one family; and we are to have no more quarrelling, no more fighting, except intellectual combats; and every man of us is to cultivate philosophy and the arts, and to talk of nothing but urbanity, and humanity, and gentleness, and delicacy, and sympathy, and love—every desert spot is to be converted into a garden, and the whole face of the earth is to swarm with the sons and daughters of reason and liberty! What then? Suppose all these fine things realized, shall we have changed for the better? Let agriculture and manufactures be carried

to their utmost possible extent, where does it all end? but in our being more effeminate in our dress, and more epicurean in our food, than we are now. We must also admit, that the increase of population has kept pace with the improvements of the arts; and that the whole face of the country will be covered with habitations, except what is required for the purposes of agriculture; but this cannot be a very extensive space; for, as the earth will then be forced to yield at least an hundred fold more than at present, I reckon an area of twenty feet square a very ample allowance for each person. This is making a very great concession; for, you know that every inch of the surface of dry land might be covered with houses, and the inhabitants, by having terraced roofs, might on the top of them raise food enough for their sustenance, as was formerly done by the Babylonians in their hanging gardens; but as I wish, contrary to the practice of the learned, to be moderate in argument, I give you twenty feet square for your maintenance and recreation. What will be the consequence of this advanced state of society? We shall, like the Chinese, throw our new-born children into rivers, with as little remorse as if they were puppies. In towns where there is no river at hand, Edinburgh for instance, the cry of "Gardyloo" will probably be followed by a babe, instead of the accompaniment which Queen Mary introduced from France. Ten stories will be more certain death to the young philosophers than a plunge into the river. We shall then hear of more "'scapes by flood than by field," and, for want of romances and memoirs of revolutions, the adventures of these foundlings will form a principal part of our libraries. We shall not be able to walk out without being jostled on all sides by crowds of enlightened men and women. All the sports of the field, and all rural pleasures, will be at an end. There will be no rambling across the

meadows; for every man will fence his territorial possessions of twenty feet against all intruders. There will be no hunting or shooting, for all wild animals will have been destroyed; and there will be no fishing, because every living thing in the rivers will have been poisoned by manufactures. There will be no poetry, no silence, no solitude; and if by chance some genius should arise and invoke the muse, he will sing more of being lulled to sleep by the clattering of fulling-mills and other machinery, than by the whispering of the zephyrs, or the sweet south, upon a bank of violets. The hard-handed peasant will then wear dog-skin gloves, silk stockings, and a solitaire, and be wrapt in silk from top to toe like a cocoon; and as the plough will then, by the power of machinery, go by itself, he will look at its motions, mounted on the horse which, in these barbarous times, would be employed in drawing it. And the rich man, dressed in the finest stuffs that art can produce, will sit in his marble palace gasping for fresh air; for amidst the steam of human bodies, and the smoke of engines and workshops, it will be impossible to get a mouthful, unless by going to sea. When the world, by the progress of knowledge, shall come to this pass, (if the art of war, after being lost for many ages, is again discovered,) it will be hailed as a noble invention, and the author of it will perhaps receive the honours of the Pantheon, for giving elbow-room to the half-stifled inhabitants of the globe, by such ingenious machinery as fire-arms, instead of its being effected by pestilence and famine: it will no doubt be considered as a learned profession, and probably be classed as one of the branches of the medical art. Now, supposing that the economists have accomplished their great plan of filling the world with farmers and manufacturers, and made the whole face of the earth one great city, it does not appear that the more important end of in-

creasing the happiness of mankind would be attained. But there is another kind of philosophers who propose doing this by other means. They do not mind what we eat or drink, or wear; their business is all with our minds—with our contemplations. They talk a great deal about the material and mental worlds, and of their both being subjected by man; and of the accumulating lights of a perpetual succession of speculative men, effecting in the one case what physical agents do in the other. I cannot conceive that that part of their studies which is directed to the division of the powers of the mind into different heads of memory, reflections, &c. can ever make us wiser or better. It is only giving us a new code of metaphysical jargon, in addition to those which we have had already from the Indians, Greeks, and Arabians, and which will also, in its turn, be supplanted by something equally visionary and unimportant. Their disquisitions on government are not likely ever to do much good—for its best rules will always be drawn from experience; and whatever is good in their theories, comes from the same source, though they often absurdly enough regard it as the offspring of their own genius. I never had much faith in the soundness of their political doctrines, and still less after what has passed in France. If they could ever discover and demonstrate mathematically the origin of ideas, or sentiments, or whatever they please to call them, they might still be very ignorant of the characters of men, and, of course, very unfit for the administration of public affairs. We have never yet had any proof that the knowledge of abstract sciences makes those who cultivate them, either more able or more virtuous. I rather suspect that they have a contrary tendency. Were a convention assembled of all the most celebrated writers in metaphysics and politics, for the purpose of framing a constitution for a country that wanted

one, I should not hope for any great benefit from their labours, nor be surprised to behold the tyranny of Robespierre and his associates equalled by them. The mild benevolent moralist, who had been accustomed to fortify himself against the assaults of domestic calamities by the maxims of philosophers, when brought into active scenes, —when agitated and exasperated by the strife of parties, and when his latent ambition was awakened by the prospect of power, would find all his former aids of old saws of no avail, and might be hurried on to the commission of deeds as atrocious as ever were imagined by Marat himself. —— ventures to foretel that we shall advance with accelerated rapidity, from one degree of improvement to another, till at last we shall all be as good, and as wise, and as happy, as angels. But could this prophecy be accomplished, it is not an event that ought to be wished for by Christians, because we should become attached to this vain world, and would have no motive for praying to go to a better; and pain and poverty, two apostles who have perhaps made as many converts as all the bishops that ever existed, would be turned out of doors.—But religion out of the question. I am much afraid, that could the Doctor's schemes be brought to bear, they would not even contribute to our worldly bliss. The human race, as I told you before, is to be one great family. All malignant passions, and with them war, are to cease—all nations are to be alike enlightened. The gentlemen of Timbuctoo are to speak French, and the ladies to warble Italian; and the tranquil pleasures of mankind are never to be ruffled, unless by the death of their cattle, or the birth of their children. To such a state of dull uniform repose, give me, a thousand times in preference, the world as it now stands, with all its beautiful variety of knowledge and ignorance, —of languages—of manners—customs—religions and su-

perstitions—of cultivated fields and wide-extended deserts —and of war and peace.

Your affectionate Brother,
THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cariambutti, seventeen miles north-east of Senkledroog, 15th September, 1795.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I SEE that you and my father stop all travellers from India. I sometimes hear of them from Glasgow before I know of their leaving Madras. I think I see ——— looking out of his carriage window, like John Bull from Ecclesdown Castle. "Look at me now, Nick; see where I am got to." He deserves his good fortune, for he is an excellent officer. Keith Macalaster is an old acquaintance; but I know nothing of ———, except what I have from you, that he sleeps after supper in the middle of long stories. This may be occasioned either by the nature of the stories, or by the punch being too weak or too strong. My father confirms your report, and observes with some surprise, that he fell asleep while he, Major Macleod, and Keith, debated about Hyder and Tippoo till two in the morning. Had they been engaged in a real, instead of a mock fight, I should not have wondered at his sleeping at such an hour. He was Adjutant to one of the battalions which served with the Nizam's army in Mysore; but as they always encamped at some distance from us, I never was in company with him, though I have frequently seen him: he is well spoken of, and, I believe, received a present of a thousand pagodas, by order of Lord Cornwallis, for a survey of the route of the detachment with which he served. As to the doublet which —— exhibits among you, it is none of mine; I give up all claim to it: he

certainly robbed my wardrobe of many valuable articles; but this was not among them. Your conjecture about Miss ——— having enslaved him, is very right. In a letter which I received from him last year, he is very anxious to know how her brother is: had I not learned his deplorable situation from you, I should have thought this inquiry a little strange; for he never troubled himself about ———'s health before. I am sorry to say, that he has been long ill, and is still in a very bad way; but I shall give him the particulars in a few days, when I write to him. I suppose his excursions about the country in the jacket you so much admire, must be a task imposed by his fair enthraller, as a trial of his constancy.

The lady whom you pretend to have discovered for me does not, I hope, expect that I am, by night and day, over the hard stones on a tall trotting horse; for should chance, when thinking of her instead of my Rosinante, to break off and break my neck, how doleful it would be—for my part. We should have "Love's Labour Lost;" the story would make such a charming new ballad, that if I not a recreant knight, I ought to be impatient to [illegible] adventure finished. But you have forgotten in your [illegible] all the obstacles to the accomplishment of this great enterprise,—not of neck-breaking; for of that, as I have already said, I make nothing,—but of the celebration of our nuptials. I have since the morning reckoned above fifty; but there is one which is worth them all,—that the lady never was in the mind which you say; or if she was, that it is fifty to one but she would change it before I got home, were I even mounted upon an enchanted wooden steed. Now, what is to be done when I arrive, and find that she has given her hand to an unknown rival? If he were a knight, I might borrow ———'s doublet and horse, and challenge him to mortal combat; but as it is more likely that he has never been dubbed, there is nothing

left for me but to choose the most romantic manner of dying. Hanging and drowning have both many advocates among lovers: for my own part, I should prefer hanging; it is more pastoral, and I think that dangling by the neck from a willow, would have a fine Arcadian appearance; besides, the branch might break, or some charitable swain might pass that way, and cut me down before I had sighed my soul away, which are chances that I could not, have at the bottom of a pond. But what makes this one of the most hapless love affairs that ever distressed a forlorn couple is, that, besides the lady's objections, I might have not a few of my own. I have read so many romances and novels, that I have got very high notions of beauty; nothing but such a peerless dame as Rosalind, or Angelica, or Clarinda, will make me kneel. If the lady is not as fair as Melisendra, "whose eyes misled the morn," I shall regard her with as much disdain as the Glassman, in the Arabian Nights, did the Grand Vizier's daughter. The fair phantoms whom I have so often seen carried off by griffins, and rescued by knights, hold such sovereign empire in my imagination, that there is no room for your Lady Marys and Lady Bettys, nor even for your Marias and Elizas. I have seen no woman in the course of my errantry, that I did not think vulgar in comparison of those transcendent nymphs with whom I have beguiled so many delightful days "in hall and bower." But suppose that the course of true love should run smooth, and that we are both returning to our castle, mounted on white palfreys; here our troubles would begin, for when, after dismounting, Melisendra, instead of taking up a lute, and pouring upon my ear a strain like the sweet south, should fall to scolding the servants, the spell would vanish, and, instead of a magnificent palace near Trebizond, I would find myself in a small house in a dirty street in Glasgow. After having been so long used to a wandering life in a tent, I

doubt very much if I could muster steadiness sufficient to confine myself to a house. If I could not, there follows a cruel separation—the lady in town, and I in the country; —but as living under a tree or in a tent, in such a climate, is not always pleasant, I should perhaps remove as far as Persia or India, and, by increasing the distance, increase the pangs of absence.

You see how many good reasons there are against your scheme of my taking horse instantly, and hastening to throw myself at the lady's feet: as to the other, of proxy, I can only agree to it on certain conditions. If she is not, or even if I fancy that she is not, so charming as Clelia or Rosamond, I am to be at liberty to look for one that is. I am to eat and sleep whenever I please, without any questions being asked. No private orders are to be given to the barber or tailor about the decorations of my person. I am not to be forced to sit up, and receive male or female visitors; neither the superintendence of the kettle nor tea-cups is to be considered as a part of my duty. I am not to be obliged to deliver my opinion on patterns for caps or petticoats for any lady. I am not to go out to tea or supper, unless I choose. I am not to be ordered on any duties of danger, such as escorting young ladies home in a windy, or old ladies in a frosty night. I am to have liberty of conscience, and to attend church as often as I think proper. And, lastly, when I am tired of home, I may return to India *alone*. N. B. Should any doubt hereafter arise about the meaning of any of these clauses, my interpretation is to be received as infallible; and should I explain the same article different ways at different times, I am not to give any reason for so doing.—These are my terms, from none of which I can recede.

I never wish so much to be at home, as when I hear of your excursions to Saltcoats, Milliken, and Edinburgh; for I like to stroll about the country. I am happy to hear

that Saltcoats has done James so much good: he has no complaints now, I imagine, that a little time will not remove. In all my letters, I have said that he ought not to return here if there is the smallest danger of his health. I have often lamented that he was so contemplative, and looked so much forward, and with an eye so gloomy. Two of his books were Hume's Essays and Read's Theories,—books which he may now read with entertainment and without danger, but which could have done him no good when he first saw them some years before he came to this country. His sedentary, moping disposition ought rather to have been directed to bustle and action than cherished by dull studies. The cold, lifeless reasoning which is prematurely forced upon an unfortunate student at a college, is as different from the vigorous conception which is caught from mingling with general society, as an animated body from its shadow. It is distressing that we should persevere in the absurd practice of stifling the young ideas of boys of fourteen and fifteen with logic. A few pages of history give more insight into the human mind, and in a more agreeable manner, than all the metaphysical volumes that ever were published. The men who have made the greatest figure in public life, and have been most celebrated for their knowledge of mankind, probably never consulted any of these sages from Aristotle downwards.

I wish we had a statement of my father's debts, that we might know what part of the principal we could discharge without incurring any great loss, by withdrawing our money from the advantage of high interest.

The following letter to his mother, written about the same time, gives an animated description both of his own mode of life and of some of the peculiarities and customs of the people over whom he presided.

Bellari, 17th May, 1795.

DEAR MADAM,

In the course of the last three months I have written to my father, Erskine, and Alexander. I should write to you all oftener, were I not so much out of the world that I hear very little of public affairs; and were my manner of life not so uniform, that it is dull and uninteresting even to myself. I often wish that some of those dreamers, who prate so much about the pleasures of retirement, were in my place; for, to me, life without society is a heavy task. I long for company, not merely for the sake of conversation, but also to amuse myself with being idle. For I would rather play fives or billiards, or make a party to go up a hill or to swim, than read the finest composition of human genius, or pass a classical night with the whole of the Royal Society in full college. I however still like reading, and the company of those whom I suppose to be either men of taste or knowledge, as much as ever; but without recreations of a lighter kind, I should soon lose all relish for both. Were I by chance thrown into a situation where it would be necessary to relinquish either sport or study, I should without hesitation give up study. It is impossible to express the strong passion which I still retain, or which has rather continued to grow upon me, for fives, swimming, and every sport that I was fond of at school. I remember I left Cassimcottah about eight years ago, on account of the danger of hill fevers: but a stronger reason was, that I could not live without playing fives. Were I to go home to-morrow, instead of going about like a good citizen, and visiting the various improvements in the manufactures of my native town, one of my first excursions would be to Woodside, to swim down Jackson's mill-stream; and as this would certainly be represented as an action very

indecorous in a person of my years, and as savouring of an empty mind, I would excuse myself by saying that I had only followed the advice of Lord Bacon: for as I knew the deepening and widening of canals to be matters of the utmost importance to a commercial nation, I had resolved, in conformity to the principles of that philosopher, to admit nothing on hearsay, however high the authority, but to bring every thing to the test of experiment; and that, with this patriotic view, I had risked my person in a dangerous torrent.

Where I am now, I have no choice of study, or society, or amusement. I go from village to village, with my tent, settling the rents of the inhabitants: and this is so tedious and teazing a business, that it leaves room for nothing else, —for I have no hour in the day that I can call my own. At this moment, while I am writing, there are a dozen of people talking around me: it is now twelve o'clock, and they have been coming and going in parties ever since seven in the morning, when I began this letter. They have frequently interrupted me for an hour at a time. One man has a long story of a debt of thirty years' standing, contracted by his father. Another tells me that his brother made away with his property when he was absent during the war; and a third tells me that he cannot afford to pay his usual rent, because his wife is dead, who used to do more work than his best bullock. I am obliged to listen to all these relations; and as every man has a knack at description, like Sancho, I think myself fortunate when I get through any one of them in half an hour. It is in vain that I sometimes recommend to them to begin at the end of the story. They persist in their own way of making me full master of all the particulars; and I must, after making my objections and hearing their replies, dictate answers in the same copious style to them all, so that I cannot be sure that this letter will be ready to

go by the next ships. I am now in the middle of a deep valley, about eight miles from the Cavery, and twenty south of Pinagur, surrounded on every side by woody hills, not covered with forests, but with trees of stunted growth, brushwood, and such a thicket of thorns, as render them almost every where inaccessible: and as they are like most of the hills in this country, composed either of one vast mass of bare granite, or of large stones and fragments heaped together, it is often impossible to scramble up even where there are no other obstacles in the way. There is not a tree on the plain, except here and there a tamarind in the inclosures behind a farmer's hut: but this scarcity is owing to neglect in not planting others in the room of those cut down, not to barrenness; for every inch where the plough could go is cultivated; and even many spots among the rocks are turned up by the hand. My tent is on the brink of a mountain stream, which winds through this dismal valley; for dismal it appears at present, because it is the beginning of the spring, and the whole plain is ploughed up, and looks like a waste of red sand without a green thing. At the extremity rise the woody hills which bound it; and beyond them the lofty chain of mountains between Caveripooram and Seringapatam: but though only fifteen miles distant, the haze produced by the excessive heat is so great, that they are hardly visible; and yet in clear weather I have often seen them above eighty miles off. The great heats are almost over; for the land-winds, which moderate them greatly, are now begun. In a few days they will blow with great violence, and will continue at the same rate, almost without intermission, till October. The months of June, July, and August, with the exception of a few clear days, will be cooler than in Britain: for during this time the sky will be almost continually overcast, and the sun often invisible for many days. When

I speak of heat, I don't mean the thermometer, for it will in general keep between 80 and 85; but the effect produced on the human body, which, from the constant high winds, frequently accompanied with drizzling rain, feels this degree of heat much less than you do one much lower at home. The middle of summer, on this account, however strange it may seem, is cooler than the middle of winter.

Mullegoord, 17th.—I could get no farther with this letter yesterday. I came here this morning, about five miles to the north-west of the place I have just left. Yesterday was the hottest day we have had this year; but there is a great change since. It began to thunder at two o'clock this afternoon, and about four it looked so threatening, that I went out to enjoy the coming storm. I mounted an old high cavalier, the only remaining part of a mud fort, which once covered this village; the view was wild and magnificent; it was a vast assemblage of hills; for, from the spot where I stood, not a valley was visible, except the small one which I had come through in the morning; the dust of the fresh ploughed fields was every where flying up in whirlwinds; and the dark clouds were descending from the distant mountains upon the low woody hills near me. I continued admiring this scene above an hour, when I was driven from my station by the rain, which poured down in a torrent, and was followed by a tempest of hail, the second I have seen in this country. The stones were perfectly smooth and round, and about the size of small pistol-balls. I swallowed a great number of them, to the memory of former days, while I was hastening to my tent to get dry clothes; but my reception there was not so comfortable as it would have been at home: for the convenience of being near a well, it had been pitched in the dry bed of a swamp, which was now almost knee-deep. After two hours' work in cutting trenches to

carry off the water, and in throwing baskets of sand on the floor of the tent to make it firm, I have at last got a spot to bear my table and chair; and am at last, after having weathered the storm, engaged in giving you an account of it. I have this moment had a visit from an old man, the accountant of the village: he was drawn here by curiosity, for he could not conceive what use I meant to make of the baskets of sand he saw passing; he told me there was an excellent clean hut in the village, proof against all rain. I answered, that after having been almost washed away, there was no occasion to go any farther in search of cleanliness. He said there would be a great deal more rain in the course of the night, and that I should certainly be drowned if I did not take his advice. This remark gave me an opportunity of showing my knowledge in natural philosophy: I informed him, that even if the rain should again demolish my floor, I would get into my couch and set it at defiance; for that, in our elevated situation, it could not possibly reach me, till every soul in the Carnatic was drowned; that I did not care how much water came down the hills, I should never be alarmed, till I saw it coming up; when that happened, I should begin to have some serious thoughts of drowning. He is gone home, fully convinced that I am drunk. He saw me drinking tea, which he supposed to be some strong spirits, to counteract the cold.

Sholapaddi, 22d May.—I am now on the bank of the Cavery, about a mile below Caveripooram. The river is about four hundred yards broad here, and is beginning to fill. In a month more it will be even with its banks, which are about twenty feet high. You perhaps figure me to yourself in the middle of a rich country, walking on the side of a beautiful stream: but every thing here is wild and savage; the valley, which is about two miles broad between the river and the hills, does not produce a

blade of grass. During the wet weather, by the force of labour, it is covered with a poor kind of grain; but the rest of the year it is nothing but a heap of stones mixed with thorns; it is hardly possible to walk along the side of the river, as the ground is every where cut by prodigious deep ravines, full of bushes. I was above an hour yesterday in walking a mile, and half the time at least was spent in crossing them; because, after descending, I was often obliged to go a considerable way along the bottom before I could find a place to scramble up. In returning I attempted to come along the bed of the river; but this way was not pleasanter than the other way, wading through deep sand, or stumbling over blue rocks rising abruptly from it. The only agreeable part of my journey was in sitting down upon one of them, and looking at the different kinds of water-fowl catching fish. While I rested here, the burning heat of the sun was rendered still more oppressive by the reflection from the sand and water; and I do not know whether the patience of the fishing-birds in watching for their prey, or mine in looking at them, was greatest. I once thought of varying the scene, and going home by water: this might have been the shortest way, and would certainly have been the coolest; but I felt some kind of repugnance to swimming among alligators; for though here, as in many other parts of the country, they are not mischievous, and there is no instance of their ever having carried off any of the natives, who are perpetually bathing, I reflected that it would be no consolation to me to have it remarked by the old people of the village, that they never remembered to have seen any person taken down by them till this blessed day. I also recollected two or three instances of accidents having happened where these animals were said to be perfectly harmless; these arguments were quite sufficient to deter me from attempting the passage by water. I have not yet

taken the trouble to ascertain whether my conduct, on this occasion, was the result of self-love, or of that wisdom which Dr. Zimmerman, one of the most absurd coxcombs I ever met with, says is produced by seclusion from the world. If solitude is the mother of wisdom, it is to be hoped that, in a few years more, I shall be as wise as Solomon or Robinson Crusoe. There is another thing in favour of this idea,—the simplicity of my fare, which, according to some philosophers, is a great friend to genius and digestion. I do not know if the case is altered by this diet, being the effect of necessity and not of choice. When my cook brings me a sheep, it is generally so lean that it is no easy matter to cut it. Fowls are still worse, unless fed with particular care,—a science for which I have no turn; and as to river-fish, very few of them are eatable. If the fish and fowl were both boiled, it would puzzle any naturalist to tell the one from the other merely by the taste. Some sects of philosophers recommend nuts and apples, and other sorts of fruit; but nothing is to be found either in the woods or gardens here, except a few limes, and a coarse kind of plantain, which is never eaten without the help of cookery. I have dined to-day on porridge made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters. Some other philosophers think that gentle exercise, as a branch of temperance, has also a share in illuminating the understanding. I am very fond of riding in an evening shower after a hot day; but I do not rest much upon this; my great dependence, for the expansion of my genius, is upon the porridge.

Chittore, 18th June.—I remained only a few days in the Caveryporam district, after writing the last part of this letter: my tent was blown away one afternoon by a hurricane of dust, such as those that Mr. Bruce met with in the Desert. I thought at first, from the darkness, that it was

rain; but when it came within a few miles, I soon guessed, from the red colour of the cloud, what it was,—for I had before seen one, though not half so violent, at Bangalore. It lasted about half an hour; and, as I was in the middle of it all the time bareheaded, I caught a cold, which, together with the King's birth-day, carried me to Senkledroog. I stayed there a week, as the doctor told me, to recover my health; but it was, in reality, neither him nor health, but the Swallow packet, that detained me. I wished to be in society when she arrived, that I might have a debate upon the intelligence she was expected to bring out, both respecting European politics, and the regulations of the Indian army; but hearing nothing of her, I took the field again, and, after several movements, I am now on a beautiful spot, twelve miles north of Senkledroog, and four from the Cavery. On all sides are groves of Palmyra trees, and the country is every where green with the rising grain: the only uncultivated ground is a small space in front of the village on which my tent stands. The weather is now pleasanter than in England; the wind is high, and the sky so cloudy, that the sun has scarcely been visible since the beginning of the month. I walked out this afternoon at three o'clock, which is usually as hot as any hour in the day, and did not return till near seven, when it began to grow dark. I made a circuit of about ten miles, without once thinking of heat. At this season of the year, I take so much pleasure in these rambles, that I find it difficult to confine myself to my tent. They are not so solitary as I could wish; for I often fall in with story-tellers, who keep me company all the way. The farmers of this country are, I believe, the most talkative race on the face of the earth. A party of them met me this evening with a complaint against some unknown conjurer, who had set fire to their village twice in the course of the year. I told them I had a great antipathy to all conjurers, and

would give them satisfaction on their producing him. They said they had concerted a plan for discovering him, but that it could not be executed without my assistance. I was to take my station at a little distance from the village, with a spying-glass in my hand; all the inhabitants were to pass in review before me; when I could not fail, by means of the virtues of the glass, to discover the felon who had done so much mischief. I answered that it was an excellent thought, but that the trial must be deferred till I should get a new glass, as my old one was broken; and as we should then certainly catch the conjurer, I asked what punishment it would be proper to inflict upon him. They said, no other than drawing two of his teeth, with which he would lose all his magic powers. I replied, that this could not be done till he was taken; but that, in the mean time, there was another remedy, equally simple, at hand, to defend themselves from him in future: any person who had any suspicion of his having evil designs upon himself, had only to get two of his own teeth drawn, which would secure both himself and his property against all the art of the enemy. I said I had some years ago parted with two of my own teeth; and offered, if they would accompany me back, to get them all made magic-proof at the same cheap rate. They asked leave to go home and consult about my proposal, and promised to give me their answer in the morning; but I suspect that I shall hear no more of the matter. Among the natives of this country, the belief in all kinds of witchcraft, goblins, and elf-shooting, is universal among all ranks. They frequently take the conjurer by surprise, and draw his teeth themselves without applying to justice. The cattle of the farmers seldom die a natural death. If any accident happens in any of their families when they begin to plough a field; if a snake runs across the path, or if they see a land-crab, they abandon it, and say that it is in possession of the

devil:—it lies waste for several years; and if then some bold fellow ventures to break it up, and loses neither his life nor his bullocks, it is supposed that the devil has, for the present, relinquished his claim. I once had a complaint from a man, of a conjurer's having killed his wife and mother, and about twenty cows and bullocks. I thought, at first, that some of the characters in the Arabian Nights had again started up; but, on farther inquiry, I found that he had taken fourteen years to effect all this; and I thought it possible that, within this period, time alone, without any foreign aid, might have dispatched a couple of women and a few cattle.

I add to this a letter addressed to one of his brothers, not only because of its extreme beauty, but on account of its striking illustration of that affection for early scenes and early friends, which formed so prominent a feature in the writer's character.

Senkledroog, 25th January, 1796.

DEAR JAMES,

I HAVE received your letters of June and September, 1794, and May, 1795. I cannot read your account of your ramble among our old haunts, without wishing myself along with you. I understand all the alterations you mention, as well as if I saw them; but I have too much veneration for every thing about the place, to relish any changes:—I neither like the stone wall, nor the making the entrance from the hollow part of the road where the burn runs, instead of letting it go through the avenue as formerly. I hope the mill-lade is still full of mud; that the short road through the garden still remains; that the raspberries opposite to the dam still thrive for the benefit of wandering boys; and that no flood has carried away the

large stone in the deep water opposite to the bathing-house, from which we used to plunge. Often have I sat upon it, and encouraged you, in vain, to come in. Alexander and William were not afraid of the water, and soon learned to swim; but I could never prevail on you to come above the dam; you always amused yourself among the stones in the shallow water below, where it was hardly deep enough for the minnows to play. This spot, next to our own family, if any thing ever draws me home, will do it. I have no friendships nor employment that should induce me to return. I had no companions in the grammar-school with whom I associated after leaving it, except John Brown's sons and my brothers: and they are now dispersed in all parts of the world. By spending so much of my time in the house, I was more among Erskine's acquaintances than any of my own, and I would much rather see them than any of my schoolfellows.

My attachment to India has been much weakened since you left it, by the loss of many valuable friends. You already know of James Irving; but Dods, the oldest and dearest of them all, is now gone; he was my tent-mate in 80 at Conjeveram, and from that time till the day of his death, my affection for him grew stronger and stronger; he was carried off, in the course of a week, by a hill fever, which he caught at Gingee, where he had gone with another officer for the sake of solitary excursions, of which he was so fond, and of visiting the stupendous rocks and ruins about that place. No year ever passed that he did not contrive to spend several weeks with me. He was going to see some friends at Trichinopoly, and from thence had promised to come through the Baramahl on his way to Arnie. I wrote to him, that I had a tent ready for him; but my letter came back under a cover, informing me of his death. You fancy to yourself Foulis and he and I meeting at Derampoory: such a meeting I once flattered myself with seeing; but it

is all over now, and the world has nothing which can ever give me so much pleasure as it would have done; but I am afraid I shall soon have to lament the loss of another friend. Foulis is so ill, that there is hardly any chance of his recovery; if he dies, I shall have seen the end of almost the only three men with whom I have ever been intimate. Taylor is the only exception; and his constitution is so much impaired, that he will be obliged to go to Europe. I am now too old to form new friendships; and I foresee that I must go through life like a stranger among people, some of whom I esteem, but for none of whom I have any particular partiality. Daniel's marriage inclines me to believe, that I am still a young man; but when I see all my friends dropping off, I feel that I have survived all the pleasures of youth, and that I have only those of age to look to—the recollection of what is past. In all my letters, I have constantly approved of your plan of sacrificing every prospect to the recovery of health, and I hope you will persevere in this resolution; but I am afraid that your studies will be a great obstacle to success in this point, because they confine you too much, and give you too little exercise. I have often been attacked at Kishnagerry about your indolence, and have always defended you on the plea of bad health; and the state I saw you in would certainly have made any man listless, and incapable of exertion. I have often, for a simple headach, sat without moving or speaking for a whole day. Smith, who came out in the ship with you, tells me that you were very lazy, and that you shammed illness, and spent all your time reading books in the jolly-boat, with a Scotchman called Marshall: according to Smith's ideas, reading books is a very idle kind of employment; and I am so far of his opinion, that I think it would have been better, had you in your earlier days spent less of time in school or college, and more with boys in the streets,—it might probably have saved

you from the sickness, occasioned, I suppose, by too much confinement, which threw you into the hands of quacks. Daniel has settled fifty pounds a-year upon you. I shall remit you a like sum in a month or two, and, with the help of what Alexander can spare, I hope you will be able to manage till you get into some kind of business; but you must keep up your spirits, and be cheerful, and full of exertion whenever health permits—there is no doing without these qualities. I have seen you, with all the dignity of a philosopher, speak contemptuously of the understandings, the pursuits, and engagements of your neighbours; but nothing is more unphilosophical, and, what is of more consequence, more imprudent, than to show a slight to any person, however humble his capacity: there is hardly any man who ever forgives it: and true philosophy consists, not so much in despising the talents or wealth of other men, as in bearing our own fortune, whatever it may be, with an unaltered mind. I am preaching to you about an error that I often fall into myself; but never without repenting it.

Your affectionate Brother,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[On the general state of the Country and the Army.]

DEAR SIR, Senkledroog, 18th April, 1796.

IT is now near a twelvemonth since the date of my last letter from home; but I have heard of you later than this from Lieutenant Malcolm, the General's secretary, who tells me that you were one of the last persons he saw at home, and that he had a long talk with you about Tippoo. Captain Read is still occupied in surveying and leasing this country; it will require another year to finish; so that we shall hold our civil employments till July 1797.

After that, it is likely enough that we may be sent to the right about; though it would certainly be wiser to let him remain for a year or two longer, to try whether or not the plan which he has adopted will stand the test of experiment. I have been here about six weeks. I go away in a few days, and shall hardly be twice in the company of Europeans before Christmas. You can therefore expect no news from me, for I hear nothing but vague reports; and any information that I could send you would neither be so correct nor so full as the public papers. There is no appearance, at present, of the country powers giving us any trouble. Tippoo is employed in reducing some refractory poligars, and is too weak to molest any of his neighbours. The Nizam is in the same situation; and the Mahrattas are disputing about the succession to the Peishwaship. All the Dutch posts in Ceylon are now in our possession. An expedition has been talked of against Batavia; but I think it is doubtful that it will be attempted; for it is not worth the number of men that must fall victims to its climate; and if Holland is ever again to recover her independence, of which we have some hopes from the last advices, it is not worth while to plunder and distress her without benefiting ourselves. In a political point of view, all our Eastern conquests are not of half the value that the Mauritius would have been; for, as long as the French have it and Pondicherry, they will always be able to make an impression on the Carnatic, and, if supported by Tippoo, to distress us as much as we were in 1780.

* * * * * *

We are now looking out a little impatiently for the army arrangements. Some copies have arrived in the country of those which are said to have passed the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; but they follow too closely the plan of Lord Cornwallis to give general

satisfaction. Eighteen thousand sepoys will never be found sufficient for the services of the coast; and eighteen hundred men is too great a number for a regiment. Corps of this strength might answer well enough in an open country, where the troops are kept together in large cantonments; but they are very ill-calculated for a country with an extensive frontier, covered with forts, like the Carnatic; because, in order to garrison them, almost every battalion must be broken into detachments, which will ruin their discipline. We have now thirty-six battalions of sepoys, which, with one hundred and sixty additional men to each, makes our present establishment between seven and eight thousand firelocks above the arrangements. If Ceylon is reduced, we shall probably discharge a part of the additional men; but we shall, I am convinced, after every possible reduction, be five thousand above it, and it would, in the end, prove more economical to have this extra number, or even eight thousand, than to limit ourselves to that proposed by Lord Cornwallis; for his establishment will oblige us, on the breaking out of a war, to confine our operations to the countries below the Ghauts till reinforcements arrive from Bengal, while the other would enable us to march at once to Seringapatam. The loss of a single campaign would be attended with more expense than would counterbalance all the savings that could arise from the difference of the two establishments in times of peace; and the stronger would have another advantage over the weaker, that it would secure us longer in the enjoyment of peace, because an enemy would be more cautious in attacking us when he saw us in a situation to receive him. Had Lord Cornwallis been left to combat Tippoo without any assistance from the Mahrattas, I suspect that he would have given a very different plan from that which he has now brought forward. The best article in the whole of it

is, that of giving leave to retire on full pay after twenty-five years' service.

Your affectionate Son,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[Relative to the state of the Country and the People.]

Wamlere, 10th May, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

THE average rent of cultivated land, in this country, is not more than three shillings an acre. Waste lands pay nothing. The inhabitants graze their cattle and cut wood upon them, without being subject to any demand: laying down fields in clover, and different kinds of grass, is unknown in this country, where all the pasture is spontaneous. The average rent of the whole body of farmers is not more than ten pagodas each. I am pretty sure that there is not a man among them who is worth 500*l.*, and that, exclusive of their cattle, nine-tenths of them have not five pounds. This extreme poverty is the principal cause of the lowness of the rents, and not any fault of the soil; for at least three-fourths of the lands in cultivation are capable of producing cotton, sugar, and indigo; but though the rayets have little money, I imagine that they suffer less real distress than the peasantry of Europe. The inclemency of the weather is what they hardly ever feel: firewood costs them nothing, and dress very little. Their own labour, for two or three days, is the price of their house, which is built of mud and covered with straw or leaves, and, in a warm climate, such materials answer the purpose just as well as stone or marble. All of them are married, and their families, so far from being a burden,

are a great support to them, because their labour produces more than the expense of their maintenance:—this is so generally understood, that nothing is more common than to grant a man a remission of rent on the death of his wife or his son. Learned men who write of India, begin by talking of the sun, and then tell us that its vertical rays make the natives indolent; but, notwithstanding all this, the farmers are, at least, as industrious as those of Europe, and their women more so. They owe their poverty to their government, and neither to their idleness nor the sun. There is a great variety of castes among them; the degrees of industry are different in them all; and in fixing rents, it is as necessary to attend to this circumstance as to the quality of the land. Bramins may perform all the labours of agriculture, except that of holding the plough. On this account, and because their women do not work in the fields, they seldom pay more than half the usual rent. It is fixed in the Carnatic at three quarters; but this I suspect is always by a partial valuation among the rayets. The women of some castes go through every labour the same as the men; those of others cannot hold the plough; and those of others, again, are prohibited from every kind of work in the fields; but it is fortunate that the caste of which both the men and the women are the most industrious, is by far the most numerous of all. In this caste the women manage every thing, and the men hardly ever venture to disobey their orders. It is they who buy, and sell, and lend, and borrow; and though the man comes to the cutcherry to have his rent settled, he always receives his instructions before leaving home. If he gives up any point of them, however trifling, he is sure to incur her resentment. She orders him to stay at home next day, and she sallies forth herself in great indignation, denouncing the whole tribe of revenue servants. On her arrival at the cutcherry, she goes on for near an hour with a very ani-

mated speech, which she had probably begun some hours before at the time of her leaving her own house,—the substance of it is, that they are a set of rascals for imposing upon her poor simple husband. She usually concludes with a string of interrogations. "Do you think that I can plough land without bullocks?—that I can make gold? or that I can raise it by selling this cloth?" She points, as she says this, to the dirty rag with which she is half covered, which she had put on for the occasion, and which no man would choose to touch with the end of a stick. If she gets what she asks, she goes away in a good humour; but if not, she delivers another philippic, not in a small female voice, but in that of a boatswain,—for by long practice she is louder and hoarser than a man. As the cutcherry people only laugh at her, she carries her eloquence where she knows she can make it be attended to. She returns to her unfortunate husband, and probably does not confine herself entirely to logical arguments. She is perhaps too full of cares and anxieties to sleep that night; and if any person passes her house about daybreak, or a little before it, he will certainly find her busy spinning cotton. If I have not seen, I have at least often heard, the women spinning early in the morning, when it was so dark that I could scarcely follow the road. It is the farmer's women who make most of the thread used in all the cotton manufactures of India.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The death of a Mr. Foulis, to whom Captain Munro was sincerely attached, occurred about this time, and drew from him the following beautiful letter to his brother.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Wamlere, 23rd May, 1796.

DEAR JAMES,

I LEFT Senkledroog on the 6th, and have been alone ever since, except one day that I was with Read at Selim. I shall hardly be twice in the company of Europeans again before Christmas. I am now on my way to the Caveri, and I shall pass the King's birth-day on the banks of it, among the hills, about four miles below the spot where you may remember that we went one day to swim. That place always brings my valuable friend Irving to my mind; but I have just lost a friend to whom I was still more strongly attached than to him. Foulis died at Major Brown's, near Madras, on the 17th. This event he had long earnestly wished for himself; for, with the exception of a few short intervals of ease, the last seven years of his life was a period of great pain and constant suffering, and often of agony. No man in the service was ever so generally lamented. Now that he and Dods are both gone, I feel myself indifferent, both with regard to this country and home, for the loss of them leaves a blank which I can never hope to fill up,—for it is impossible that I can ever be again with any other men as I have been with them. Life is now too far advanced to commence such friendships as subsisted between us; for, to make friendships cordial and unreserved, men must not only have something of the same tempers, inclinations, and ways of thinking, but they must have passed many of their earlier years together, in the same scenes of pleasure or distress. You must not judge of Foulis from what he was when you saw him—disease and unremitting torment had totally altered both his looks and his mind; even when you saw him somewhat better at home, none of the bad symptoms of his

disorder had been removed, and he was himself convinced that there was not the smallest chance of his recovery. I don't know if ever you met with Dods, except one day that I carried you to his tattered tent at Seringapatam; but even from the short acquaintance that you had with both of them, I make no doubt but that you found yourself more at your ease, and were received with a heartier welcome, than you often are by friends of longer standing at home.

I am very glad to hear that you have resolution enough to prefer your health to every other consideration. Were your constitution perfectly sound, you would certainly do well to accept of Daniel's invitation; but while you have any remains of the bowel complaint, it would be great folly to make dangerous experiments on yourself, to gratify either your own vanity, or that of your friends. I would rather see you in good health, the poorest doctor in Scotland, than the richest in Bengal, and suffering what you did at Kishnagerry.

The arrangements are arrived. I shall send my father a list of the army, after they are carried into effect.

Your affectionate Brother,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Curtore, fifteen miles east of Derampoory,
24th September.

DEAR JAMES,

* * * * I wish I had been at ——'s marriage with the party of ——, which you thought so dull. You doctors are too nice about your company. Where do you think the world is to find men of wit, and learning, and genius, to place rank and file round every table? I am perfectly satisfied with reading in a book that there are such

men in the present age, without expecting that I am to have one on each side of me, whenever I sit down to eat a beef-steak. Thank God! I sometimes devoutly say, I am contented with my lot, and can make shift to swallow my dinner, and supper too, even though it should not be seasoned with the conversation of a Hedrick. I consider that man was not made for me to mend; and I therefore endeavour to take my company with a good appetite, without fretting myself about their being fish or fowl. I cannot deny but that I have often, when in a bad humour, or low spirits, shifted the blame from myself to my friends, and given them a hearty curse for not affording me more entertainment, which they were perhaps, at the very same moment, retorting inwardly, and likely enough, with as much justice, for Providence has wisely ordained, that taste should be in conversation, as it is in every thing else, various and capricious,—for it would occasion almost as much inconvenience in society if all of us were to debate eternally on the same topics, as if we were all to fall in love with the same woman. The drift of all these profound remarks is merely to show that though —— and his party might not have settled the point, whether Vortigern was a sprite of Shakspeare's or a bantling of Mr. Ireland's; or whether Mr. Burke or his answerers had the best of the argument, that they might have discussed other subjects, which might have required as much judgment, though of a different kind. I would not choose to give my days and nights to retailers of family anecdotes; but I like to sit down sometimes in the midst of a gossiping circle, and hear one tell how his grandmother could thread a needle, without spectacles, at fourscore, and another, how his grand-aunt, by the father's side, could read a small printed Bible at ninety. These, in the pride of your philosophy, you may despise as trifling matters; but I should be very glad when I am

reading my Bible at ninety, as God willing I shall, to see you threading your needle at eighty without spectacles.

Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

25th.—P. S. We are now obliged to arm to prevent Tippoo from attacking some of our Mahratta friends. This was to be expected from our absurdity in leaving him so strong at the end of the last war. I am afraid that our preparations may keep him quiet. Without another war, I may not be a captain these ten years. There are now about seventy above me. The only steps I have got this last year are by two men whom I would not have given for all they have left behind them—Dods and Foulis. Taylor, the last of my intimate friends, died at Amboyna in April. I esteemed him no less than the other two, for the many inestimable qualities that he possessed. There was something peculiarly manly, and, at the same time, amiable in his disposition; and this joined to his having attached himself to me in 81, when he was a boy of fifteen, has made me feel his death, if possible, more than that of the other two.

TO HIS SISTER.

Derampoory, 4th March, 1797.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I HAVE received so many letters from you, written in the course of last year, that I am now, from practice, become pretty expert in deciphering your cabalistical characters. Your last packet is of the 3d June, except a few lines by Charles Craig, of the 28th September. I have not got the View of Clyde. Mr. Ross has sent me the Glasgow papers, though he does not say from whom he received them. I have been busy with them for some days past, reading about the Broomielaw and Grangemouth, and the roups of steadings and tenements, and the accomplishments of Mr. M'Gregor, who teaches graceful

attributes and the art of war to colonels of regiments, for the good of his country. I don't know what to make of this Grangemouth, whether to suppose it to be the place where the canal joins the Clyde, or the old basin beyond the black quarry, to which we used often to make excursions through King's Park. The walk from thence to Cadder, if I remember right, is through a very barren, dreary country. I should however be glad to take it again, to recall the days of other years, and to compare the ideas excited by the view of the neighbouring scenes in boyish days with those of a riper age. George Brown tells me, that the expectation of deriving pleasure from such things is all a delusion, and that though most men cherish it, they soon find it vanish on trial. I believe that this is the case in general; but I should be sorry to find it so with myself. I pass so much of my time in the open air; I am so fond of rambling in the fields, even in this hot climate, that I am certain that, even independent of every relation to past times, I should have greater pleasure in walking along the canal, than in visiting the gayest place in Britain. From this account, you will think yourself sure of me in your intended expedition to Turkey or America, in quest of Mrs. Liston; but I can see very plainly that I shall not be of the party;—for either I shall by that time be tired of roaming, and wish to pitch my tent on some dry spot, if there be any such in Scotland, where I may sit down quietly, and read novels and newspapers, and gossip out the remainder of my days with the toasts of a former century; or else I shall be restless, as I now am, or, what the French call, in a permanent state of revolution, and shall wish to move light, without any incumbrance either of male or female companion. I like to travel alone, because I can then go fast or slow, directly forward, or round about, just as I please. So you may easily guess that I would never answer for your squire; you could not be sure

of my attendance for a day; for, supposing us both in full march for Constantinople, and arrived at Ingolstadt or Inspruck, or some such place in the heart of Germany, I might take it into my head, while you were looking at pictures or churches, or sitting down to write a description of them to one of your Glasgow friends, to push off, without giving you notice, for Switzerland or Italy. I might probably proceed from Leghorn to Aleppo, and so on to India, from whence I would write you a letter, conjuring you, for Heaven's sake, not to be alarmed for my safety, for that I was in good health at Madras, after having most providentially escaped the plague, by not accompanying you to Constantinople. You had better look out in time, and provide yourself with a more steady person than me to escort you. No one would do so well as James, if he should be able to undertake the journey. If the stars could contrive to make it fall out about the time I am leaving India, I would meet you either on the Delaware or the Bosphorus; but as I somehow or other fancy, that there is nothing in the manners or customs of the Americans very different from those of our own seaport towns, I would rather hear of your being among the Turks, for this would give me an opportunity of seeing, in my route overland, besides them, the Arabs and Syrians, and the remnants of many other nations celebrated in ancient history. I hope yet to see, in spite of our absurd alarms about the balance of power, the greater part of the Turkish dominions, once the seat of all the arts, under Russia or Austria. These fine countries, which have been shut up from the world since the dissolution of the Roman empire, would then be laid open to the researches of philosophical travellers; and those who wished to go to something higher than philosophy, might confirm their doctrines, by digging out a brazen candlestick from the ruins of the first temple of Jerusalem, or a brick from the foundations of the Tower of Babel. If

I did not think that I had already sufficiently tired your patience with dissertations on war and population, I would give you another, in which I should show "as how," the Russians would ere long be able, by their connexions with Persia, to break up the Turkish empire, without asking leave of any power but Austria, which would be glad to join in the crusade;—but these are matters of which we can talk when we meet, which, after all your threats, will not, I imagine, be in a foreign country. Were you really to determine on leaving home, I am afraid that you would be much disappointed in the pleasure which you expect from travelling. You would meet, in all countries, with the sameness and dulness of which you complain, particularly in tropical climates, where it would be increased by the languor occasioned by the heat of the sun. When confined, like a prisoner, to your chamber, by his scorching rays, with not a breath of air stirring, not a human being passing before your eyes, every thing still as if in the middle of a desert, you would then look back with regret to the busy house of Glasgow. The Americans are so like ourselves, that I should think an excursion to Philadelphia would afford you much the same entertainment as if you were to take shipping at Leith, go round the island, and land at Greenock. There would be greater novelty and variety on the continent of Europe; but as you have not the languages, you would soon be weary of looking at strange sights. In following travellers in your closet, every thing appears in its fairest form: you never consider bad weather, deep roads, the breaking down of carriages, miserable inns, and all the other heart-breaking, temper-trying accidents which constantly pursue ladies and gentlemen on their tours of pleasure. I would not have you listen to what Mrs. Liston may tell you on this matter; for she is not an impartial judge. The company of her husband will make her overlook some inconveniences, and her wish

to draw you to her will make her conceal the rest. I have never been very scrupulous in offering advice, whether asked or not; and in case you should hereafter think proper to consult me on your intended travels by sea or land, I think it best, without loss of time, to tell you, that I think you ought never to quit your native land until you are the wife of an ambassador. If you cannot bear the absence of a single friend, how do you think you could support the separation from all those with whom you have passed your whole life? The pleasure of corresponding, and the prospect of meeting again, will soon console you for the temporary loss of Mrs. Liston. I have formerly found this to be the case with myself, when at a distance from the friends I most esteemed; but this happiness I can no longer look forward to, for all those with whom I ever kept up an unreserved and constant correspondence have been carried off within a few months of each other. I have very little of melancholy or despondency in my temper; but I feel that the season of forming disinterested friendships is now past; that I shall never again be able to give the same confidence to any new friends, as to the old ones who are gone; and that though their loss will not make the remainder of my life miserable, it will make it much more cheerless and uninteresting than if they had lived.

Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Derampoory, 7th February, 1798.

DEAR ERSKINE,

BOTH your sprigs of ivy have reached their destination; for they have several times visited the Cavery in my writing-table, and will yet, I hope, see the bank from whence they came. Were I a man of a devout turn of

mind, they might give rise to many serious and comfortable reflections on the world to come: even as it is, they warn me that I am not what I was—that I am as withered as they—that I may return home, but that my youth and freshness will never return; and that I must, sooner or later, be mingled with the autumnal leaves of Vallambrosa, or some other valley of death. They often remind me of old women and their religious books, usually interspersed, for what reason I do not know, with dried leaves of roses and tulips in almost every page; and then I fancy myself again in the English chapel, turning over the prayer-book of Miss Yule (I think), the old lady who sat in the same pew with our mother, which, besides a collection of withered leaves, contained many excellent pictures of prophets and angels. I fancy myself again listening to the drowsy doctrines of Mr. ———, and wishing myself in the Green, or any where but with him, while he was soaring beyond this visible diurnal sphere. But when I read your verses, I forget the ivy-mantled towers and kirks, and all the dismal countenances of the crowds of quick and dead that are poured out of them on a Sunday evening, and am transported to my old haunts at Northside. I cannot however recollect the old tree which supported your ivy sprig. There was one pretty tall tree near Jackson's dam, at the sluice, and another higher up, near the hut made of fir branches, for undressing; but I do not remember that either of them was encircled in ivy. The trees that attracted most of my attention were in the Glebe; an old oak, (I believe,) under which I made a seat, and two fir-trees, with large projecting branches, on which I have often sat and read voyages to the East Indies, much more pleasant then than I have found them since.

I know not whether it is nature or early habits that give us an attachment to particular ways of life, but I never passed any time so pleasantly as catching eels and minnows, un-

less, perhaps, when I was too indolent to fish, and sat on a rock under Jackson's dam, with my feet dangling in the stream, and my eyes fixed on the water gliding among the stones. Many an idle, vacant, ruminating hour have I spent in this position, from which I was usually at length moved by some fell design against a shoal of minnows, or against the long black insect which, in a sunny day, is continually sliding along the surface of the water. After so long an interval, I find my fondness for these amusements but little abated. I never was more happy to escape from school than I am now to escape from business to some sequestered spot, to spend a truant day, just as I have done five-and-twenty years ago. There is a place about twelve miles from this, close to a little river, about half the size of Kelvin, with its banks shaded with large trees, in the midst of which stands the house or bower of Captain Irton, who has little to do himself, and is always ready to stroll or swim. I often visit him in this solitary retreat, and spend the day rationally, as I think, between walking, swimming, and fishing in a basket-boat: and if patience be a virtue, a basket-boat is an excellent school for it; for I have sat in it three hours, with the sun burning almost as much from the water as from the heavens, without catching a single minnow.

I mean to go there the day after to-morrow, to enjoy two or three Northside days. The place where I am now is far from being so pleasant, because, besides being the station of a cutcherry, and a large noisy village, it is on the high road from Kishnagerry to Selim and Senkledroog; by which means, though I have many visitors whom I am happy to see, I have sometimes others who are as tedious as any of your forenoon gossips. We have no inns in this country; and as we have much less ceremony than you have at home, it is always expected that a traveller, whether he is known or not, shall stop at any officer's house

he finds on the road. When a tiresome fellow comes across me, it is not merely a forenoon's visit, of which you complain so heavily, but I have him the whole day and night to myself. I do not, however, stand so much upon form as you do with your invaders. I put him into a hut called a room, with a few pamphlets or magazines, and a bundle of Glasgow newspapers, and leave him to go to business, whether I have any or not, till dinner-time, at four in the afternoon; and if I find that his conversation is too oppressive for my constitution to bear, I give him a dish of tea,—for we have no suppers now in this country,—and leave him at seven to go to more business. There is nothing in the world so fatiguing as some of these tête-à-têtes—they have frequently given me a headach in a hot afternoon; and I would rather walk all the time in the sun, than sit listening to a dull fellow, who entertains you with uninteresting stories, or, what is worse, with uninteresting questions. I am perfectly of your way of thinking about visitors. I like to have them either all at once in a mass, or, if they come in ones and twos, to have them of my own choosing. When they volunteer, I always wish to see two or three of them together, for then you have some relief; but it is a serious business to be obliged to engage them singly. I wonder that we waste so much of our time in praying against battle and murder, which so seldom happen, instead of calling upon Heaven to deliver us from the calamity to which we are daily exposed, of troublesome visitors. I have [redacted] from George Kippen last week [redacted] from John Malcolm, who [redacted] now a very regular correspondent of mine. I believe I have mentioned all your Glasgow friends, and have now only to say that I am also alive myself.

Your affectionate Brother,

(Signed) THOS. MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[On the threatened invasion of England.—Probability of war with Tippoo.—State of affairs at Hydrabad.—State and condition of the Baramahl.]

Trichangoor, 21st September, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

THE only letter I have received from home since May, 1797, was one dated in January last, from Erskine. I have been looking out for the Glasgow Couriers; but as the ships are all arrived, I can have no chance of seeing them now. I don't know whether my disappointment is to be ascribed to your not having found an opportunity of forwarding them, or to their having been intercepted by some person as fond of reading newspapers as myself. I feel the loss of them at this moment more than I should have done at any other, for I was anxious to see how my countrymen, the warlike citizens of Glasgow, and the Gorbals, felt under the denunciation of the Directory of Great Britain. In reading the Parliamentary Debates, I have often been afraid that we should allow ourselves to be bullied into a peace, disgraceful for the present, and eventually more ruinous than any war; and that, like the Dutch, we should prefer buying a constitution from France, to paying for defending our own. I can hardly believe that the preparations for invasion have any other object than to make us precipitate ourselves into peace on any terms—unless they be intended for Ireland, on some hopes of co-operation. For my own part, I should not be sorry to hear of the landing of a French army in Britain, for I am convinced that the issue would show that such invasion is more formidable while impending, than when actually carried into execution; and I hope that it would infuse into all classes of men more confidence in themselves,

and a certain degree of military spirit, which every nation that is within the reach of France, and that wishes to preserve its independence, must possess, until the period arrives, when, by the influence of the new philosophy, the whole world is to become one grand commonwealth of Quakers.

The alarm we had some time ago about Tippoo, seems to have blown over. He has, no doubt, entered into some conditional engagements with the French; but the sight of preparations on our part, and the uncertainty of receiving any assistance from France, have probably determined him to give up all thoughts of war, or at least not to venture on hostilities before he is sure of being supported. He is now in Seringapatam, busied, as he has been for some years past, in improving its fortifications, but is taking no measures for an offensive campaign. I have always thought that it was essentially necessary to our own security, that no such power as his should exist; because, however limited it may be, he is always ready, from the discipline of his army, and from his own disposition, to take advantage of any dissensions among the neighbouring states; and as he knows that we are the principal obstacle to his aggrandizement, he is always ready to suspend his more partial enmities, and to join in any combination, either with the country powers, or with France, to extirpate us. I wished anxiously that we should have seized the present opportunity of reducing him, before we could be prevented by the return of peace with France: but if Government ever had any design of this kind, it has been delayed, and, I believe, very properly, in order to effect what requires more immediate operations,—the overthrow of the strong democratic party at Hyderabad. The Nizam has for many years had a few corps of sepoys, officered by Europeans of different nations, but the whole commanded by a Mons. Raymond. They were for a long

time neither well paid nor well armed, nor were they dangerous either from their numbers or discipline; but, after the late war, Raymond was permitted to make new levies: he obtained a large tract of country in Jageer for their maintenance, and was enabled to pay them regularly, to clothe and arm them completely, and to bring them into a high state of order. He was soon at the head of fifteen thousand men, with a train of field artillery; he hoisted the tricoloured flag on all occasions; and, at last, became formidable to his master. Could any strong body of French troops have been landed in India, it is most likely he would have joined them and Tippoo against the English and the Nizam; but, whatever his projects might have been, he, fortunately for us, died in the midst of them, about two months ago. He has left no successor of equal abilities or influence; and as the different commandants have various interests, and show but little deference to their present chief, the Nizam has, either of himself or by the interference of the Supreme Government, conceived the design of breaking them altogether, or, at least, of disbanding all the corps that are suspected of being under French influence. A strong detachment has been formed in Guntoor, to march, in case of necessity, to Hyderabad. The sooner they move the better, for no time ought to be lost in destroying this party, so hostile to our interests in the Deccan. Raymond owed the rapid increase of his power to the weak, timid policy of * * * * * *, who might have suppressed it in the beginning, if not by remonstrance, at least by menace; but he chose rather to sit and view its progress quietly, than to do any thing to risk, or what he thought was risking, hostilities.

The unity, regularity, and stability of our governments in India, since they have been placed under Bengal, and

our great military force, give us such a superiority over the ever-changing, tottering governments of the native princes, that we might, by watching times and opportunities, and making a prudent and vigorous use of our resources, extend our dominion without much danger or expense, and at no very distant period, over a great part of the Peninsula. Our first care ought to be directed to the total subversion of Tippoo. After becoming masters of Seringapatam and Bangalore, we should find no great difficulty afterwards in advancing to the Kistna, when favoured by wars or revolutions in the neighbouring states; and such occasions would seldom be wanting, for there is not a government among them that has consistency enough to deserve the name. There are few of the obstacles here that present themselves to conquest in Europe. We have no ancient constitution or laws to overturn, for there is no law in India but the will of the sovereign; and we have no people to subdue, nor national pride or animosity to contend with, for there are no distinct nations in India, like French and Spaniards, Germans and Italians. The people are but one people; for, whoever be their rulers, they are still all Hindoos: it is indifferent to them whether they are under Europeans, Mussulmans, or their own Rajahs. They take no interest in political revolutions; and they consider defeat and victory as no concern of their own, but merely as the good or bad fortune of their masters; and they only prefer one to another, in proportion as he respects their religious prejudices, or spares taxation. * It is absurd to say that we must never extend our dominions, though we see a state falling to pieces, and every surrounding one seizing a portion of its territory. We ought to have some preconcerted general scheme to follow on such occasions; for, if we have not, it is probable that we shall either let most of them slip

altogether, or, by acting in too great a hurry, not derive so much advantage from them as we might otherwise have done.

The Baramahl has now been completely surveyed, and the rents of it fixed. They are, on an average, nearly what they were under Tippoo. The inhabitants paid the same then as now; but the deficiency of his receipts arose from the peculations of an host of revenue-officers. The rents here, as I believe in every other part of India, are too high. This circumstance, joined to the general poverty of the people, is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement, and it has hitherto prevented the lease from being settled. Government have desired it to be made so as to sit light on the inhabitants; but they were not aware that, in order to effect this, they must relinquish twenty or twenty-five per cent. of the present revenue. This reduction will be recommended to them by every argument that can be thought of; but I am not sure that they will have resolution enough to agree to it. I do not myself approve of attempting to establish a general lease at once over the whole country. There are many arguments against such a measure, founded on the poverty, the ignorance, and the manners of the people, which it would be tedious to detail. I rather wish to continue the plan now followed, which consists in letting every farmer please himself; he may take as much or as little land as he pleases every year; he may reject his old fields and take new; he may keep a part of the whole for one year or twenty, as he finds it most convenient; and as every field has a rate of assessment, which never varies, he knows perfectly what he has to trust to, and that his rent can never rise or fall but exactly in proportion to the extent of land he occupies. All that is required of him is, that he shall give notice, between the 12th of April and the 12th of July, of whatever land he means to relinquish, in order

that it may be given in these months, which are the principal season of cultivation, to any other man who wants it. If he fail in this, he is obliged to pay the rent for the ensuing year. By persevering in this system, the farmers would soon know how much land they could manage: they would cease to abandon whatever fields they had in any degree improved; and this practice, which would answer every purpose of a lease, would gradually extend over the whole country. If we endeavour to establish the lease every where at once, it could not be permanent; for ignorance and inexperience, both on our side and on that of the farmers, would lead many of them into engagements which they would not be afterwards able to fulfil. The Baramahl contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants, among whom there are above sixty thousand farmers, who hold their lands immediately of Government; but as the same man is frequently reckoned two or three times, from having farms in different places, and as a father and son often appear separately, the whole number of independent farmers is probably not above forty-five or fifty thousand. There are not ten men among them who pay one hundred and fifty pagodas of rent. The rents of the middling class of farmers run usually from about ten to twenty pagodas; so that you see we have no great landholders in this part of India. Many causes concur to prevent the existence of such an order of men:—the oppression of Government, and frequent wars, which hinder the accumulation of property, by fines or plunder; the universal practice of early marriage, and of equal inheritance of all male children, and the simplicity and cheapness of cultivation. Whenever a farmer's servant saves a few rupees, he buys a pair of bullocks. His plough does not cost him a rupee: he rents a few acres from Government, and commences farmer himself: if he is successful, he continues his business; and if he meets with an accident, he

sells his cattle to pay his rent, and returns to his former employment of a common labourer. In such a state of things, it is almost impossible that great landed property can ever be obtained by any one man, unless by fraud or violence. The great number of farmers in the Baramahl necessarily occasions much detail in the management of the revenue; but there is no difficulty in it,—nothing is required, but constant attention; and where this is given, it is both better for the country and easier for the collector to receive the rents directly from sixty thousand farmers, than by the medium of ten or twelve zemindars, or great landholders. The rent of the division of the country under my charge last year was one hundred and sixty-five thousand pagodas, which was collected within the year, without a single rupee outstanding, and without any trouble, from about twenty thousand farmers. The rent of dry land, or land which is only watered by rain, is never less than half a rupee, or more than a pagoda, per acre. The rent of wet land, or land which can be overflowed by tanks or rivers, is usually four times as much. I shall probably write you more fully hereafter of these matters; but I am in some measure deterred by considering how improper it would be that any revenue details should by accident get public, before they had officially reached the Directors.

Your affectionate son,
THOMAS MUNRO.

Not long after the preceding letter was written, the hostile designs of Tippoo became fully known to the Supreme Government; and Lord Mornington, with an energy rarely equalled, and never surpassed, made adequate preparations to defeat them. Of these, as well as of the negotiations

by which a war was sought to be avoided, it is unnecessary to give here any account. No reader of English history can have forgotten, that to the remonstrances and warnings of the Governor-General, Tippoo turned a deaf ear; and that the assembly of two formidable armies, one under General Harris at Madras, the other under General Stuart at Bombay, failed of producing any effect. Finally, in the month of February, 1799, the British troops, supported by a corps from the Nizam's army, took the field, and on the 11th, General Harris commenced his march towards Seringapatam.

To facilitate the operations of the grand army, by supplying it with provisions and stores, an independent corps was collected in Baramahl, under Colonel Read, to which Captain Munro became attached. With this body he continued to serve till the reduction of Seringapatam, when he was nominated joint secretary with his friend, Captain, now Sir John Malcolm, to the commissioners appointed to arrange the partition treaty. The following extract from a letter to his father gives an account of this campaign, and describes his own severe suffering from ill-health during its prosecution; whilst the remarks upon Tippoo's government and character, as well as the prophetic declaration of the line of policy which the Company would find it necessary henceforth to adopt, possess even now too much of interest to be withheld.

TO HIS FATHER.

Bekul, 6th August, 1799.

—— YOU will think it extraordinary, that instead of writing you military details as usual, until Erskine was tired of them, I should have been silent during the late short but eventful war, which terminated the life and the empire of Tippoo Sultan, and gave us such complete revenge for all the murders and desolations committed by the House of Hyder. But bad health and a great deal of business, at least more than I could manage in the weak state I was in, rendered me not only incapable of writing, but even of observing with attention what was going on.

I was attacked by one of those fevers which the faculty call anomalous, about the 22d of January. It sometimes continued day and night, and always visited me many hours every day, for one-and-forty days. It began, when I was on a visit at Kishnagerry, with headachs and shivering now and then; I thought I might have drunk a glass or two of bad wine. I drank nothing but water; but I was still attacked as before; and I believe it was ten days before I discovered, by a regular cold and hot fit, that my visitor was an ague of some sort or other. He was immediately plied with bark; but he had got too firm a hold to be easily driven out. I had by this time settled that I was to go to the field as secretary to Colonel Read, who was appointed to the command of a detachment of the army. I returned to Derampoory about the 10th of February, to arrange matters for delivering over charge of the revenue to an assistant. My disorder continued to increase, and I set out for Kishnagerry again about the middle of the month. I had no conveyance but a horse, which I rode twelve miles to a village, where I had pitched a tent. At night I found that his motion had brought new complaints upon

me—pains over all my body, which for a month after never permitted me to sleep, or even to remain awake in bed more than four hours out of the twenty-four. They came upon me while I was asleep, and always awakened me regularly at one or two in the morning, according as I might have lain down at nine or ten o'clock. When once wakened, no turning could give me the smallest relief, but rather made me worse; the only remedy was to sit up in my chair till morning, which I did every night for five weeks. On my arrival next day at Kishnagerry, the fever was so violent and constant, that doctors were obliged to stop the bark, and dose me with antimonials, &c. in order to obtain an intermission. This was effected, but at the expense of my hearing; for, from four or five in the morning, till eight or nine, was the only time I could hear. All the rest of the day I was as deaf as any old man on earth. I remained much in the same condition for near a fortnight. The few intervals in which I could attend to any thing, I was obliged to employ in accounts of revenue, and grain, cattle, and other supplies, for the equipment of the army. I never thought my life in any danger; but I had serious apprehensions of remaining for ever deaf, and also of losing my memory, which I found did not serve me as usual. The fever, however, began to abate about the end of the month; and as the army had gone on to Policode, I went up the Raicottah pass, to meet it on the 4th of March. The change of air produced the effect which I expected; for on this day the fever left me, and never afterwards returned.

The right wing of the army entered the enemy's country on the 6th of March, the left on the 7th, and the reserve, with Colonel Read's detachment, on the 8th. I could not bear the motion either of a palankeen or a horse, and was therefore obliged to walk. The day was extremely hot and close, while the dust, trampled by fifty thousand men,

and as many horses and bullocks, rose like clouds of smoke; the dust cleared away for a few seconds, sometimes in one quarter and sometimes in another, giving us a glimpse of the Nizam's cavalry, and elephants glittering in the sun, and then closing again. In better health I should have enjoyed the scene; but I now beheld it with indifference; long sickness had so unhinged me, that I was almost dissolved in sweat. About noon we reached our ground; and while sitting under a tree, waiting the arrival of our tents, I pulled two stoppers of lint out of my ears, which the doctors had desired me never to remove until the sun got warm; and I was surprised to find that I heard as well as ever. The heat had probably loosened something which had obstructed my hearing. We marched again next day, and delivered our supplies to the army, which pursued its march on the 10th towards Seringapatam, leaving Colonel Read behind, with instructions to bring on a large body of Bunjarries, then on their way from Hyderabad, and to join the army by the route of Caukanhilly. The Bunjarries not being expected before the beginning of April, Colonel Read resolved to employ the intermediate time in reducing the posts held by the Sultan's troops above the Ghauts, along the frontiers from Raicottah to Peddanadurgam. A hill-fort, called Soolaghury, was the only place that made any resistance, and it was taken by assault. Some other posts of little strength were evacuated on our approach.

A letter received on the 27th, dated Camp of Sultanpit, 14th April, from the General, informed Colonel Read that the plan of attack was changed,—that the army was to cross the Cavery, and that he must therefore come on by the Caveryporam pass. The original plan was to attack the north-east angle; but information of its having been greatly strengthened, the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of favouring the junction of the Bombay army without passing the Cavery, induced the General to cross it,

and attack the west angle of Seringapatam. Colonel Read, on receiving his orders, descended from the Peddanadurgam pass, and returned to Kishnagerry. The Bunjarries came in about the 10th; but as, from the failure of the monsoón, there was no water between Policode and the Cavery, a distance of forty miles, he could not venture to march from the Caverypatam river till after a heavy fall of rain on the 14th; he reached Caveryporam on the 22nd, which immediately capitulated. The pass, which is thirty miles in length, winding between two lofty ranges of mountains, and through which no army had passed for half a century, required great labour to clear it. We got to Marathully at the head of it on the 27th, and found that General Floyd with all the cavalry, and three battalions of infantry, had reached Cowdhully, six miles in our front, the day before. We learned with surprise from him that the grain of the grand army would be out on the 4th of May. As there was not a blade of forage in the pass, it was necessary to leave the Bunjarries behind, till the road was made, and they could not possibly now be up before the 2nd. I wished much to have marched on the 3rd, as there were then enough above the pass to have supplied the army three or four weeks, and to have pushed on so as to reach Seringapatam on the 6th or 7th, leaving all the rest of the Bunjarries behind, and also Colonel Brown's detachment, which had then entered the pass; but General Floyd having been ordered to join Colonel Brown, thought it would be impossible to move on without him, especially as he was so near; he joined on the 5th; we halted to let him rest on the 6th. Early on the morning of this day we learned from two spies that Seringapatam had been taken on the 4th, at noon; but as they did not perfectly agree in their accounts, and as official notice had been received from Lord Mornington, that the grain in store in camp would be all out on the 7th, and the army exposed to destruction if not

speedily relieved, we marched and got to Seringapatam on the 11th, where we found every thing in the greatest abundance, for the bazaars were not only full, but the granaries contained near two lacs of bullock-loads of paddy. The public grain of the army would only have lasted till the 7th; but a quantity sufficient to last fifteen days longer, was discovered in the possession of dealers, who had brought it on for sale. This being secured, and most of the followers sent away, there was enough to have served the fighting-men, had the place not fallen, nor General Floyd arrived when he did. You will, long before this can reach you, have seen in the public paper sall the details of this interesting siege, and the death of Tippoo; I shall therefore go on with the history of my own recovery. I had, before my arrival at Seringapatam, got rid of the pains which always called me out of bed; but I had still, in a greater degree than ever, profuse cold sweats, which kept me so weak that I could hardly drag myself along with the detachments.

Colonel Read marched on the 17th, with orders to proceed by Bangalore to Nundidroog, and to summon all the forts between Seringapatam and Raicottah, in order to open the communication with the Carnatic: all of them were given up without any hesitation. We found Savendroog strengthened, Bangalore completely demolished, and Nundidroog almost impregnable. He had no written instructions to go farther; but he conceived that the General had verbally given him a discretionary power to act according to circumstances,—he therefore marched towards Sera on the 28th of May, meaning to proceed by Chitteldroog to Biddanore. He signified his intentions in a letter written from Savendroog; and this afternoon, on reaching his encampment, he received an answer to it, ordering him back to Bangalore. He was irregular in acting on mere conversation; but ordering him back was, I am afraid, a greater

mistake on the other hand. It was known that some of the remains of the Sultan's army had assembled in the Biddanore province, under Dhondagee, a Mahratta who had been circumcised by Hyder; had commanded a body of horse in his service; had afterwards been a freebooter, plundering both in the Mysore and Mahratta territories, and had lately been taken by Tippoo and put in irons, from which he had been released on the day of the assault, by an officer who did not know his character. It was necessary that a strong detachment should have moved towards him without delay, to prevent him from gathering strength, by the accession of the stragglers of the late Sultan's army, who were ready to join any leader for the sake of plunder. The consequence of this not having been done is, that he has now been for some time in possession of the whole Biddanore country, which he has completely ransacked, and that a large force, if not the whole army, must march to drive him out as soon as the weather permits. I left Colonel Read at Nundidroog, and returned to Bangalore, to take charge of the revenue, till it should be determined to whom it was in future to belong. I got there on the 30th of May; the weather was very cold, and this was the first day on which my cold sweats stopped. I was obliged to set out again on the 8th of June, for Seringapatam, to put myself under the commissioners.

During the whole of the campaign, I was so oppressed with lassitude that I could not go through half of my public duty, and I therefore never thought of writing private letters. The most material transactions will appear in the newspapers; and I hope that a great deal of the correspondence of Hyder and Tippoo, with the different powers of India, and with Turkey, Persia, and France, will be hereafter published. The whole of the correspondence with the French, previous to the late war, is amongst the records, as also the offensive and defensive alliance against

us. The great blow which Tippoo received at the conclusion of the former war, by the loss of half his country, appears to have confounded him, and to have worked so great a change on his character, that he was at times reported to be mad. He never had the talents of his father; but he had always, till that event, paid his army regularly, kept it in good order, given a great deal of attention to business, and managed his finances tolerably well: but from that time his whole soul seems to have been filled with nothing but schemes of vengeance; and so eager was he for the end, that he overlooked the means. A restless spirit of innovation, and a wish to have every thing to originate from himself, was the predominant feature of his character. He had, some years before the French revolution, new-named all the forts in his dominions, and the whole sixty years of the Indian cycle; and, though a bigoted Mussulman, he had altered the venerable names of the Arabic months, and substituted another era for that of the Hegira. He had abolished all old weights and measures and coins, and introduced new; and he had new-modelled his revenue and army, and issued various codes of regulations to his civil and military officers. After the reverse of his fortunes in 1792, the rage for novelty, instead of abating, increased: he issued more regulations, not only to the principal officers of state, but to those in the most subordinate situations,—to the persons who had the charge of his gardens, of his buildings, of feeding his bullocks and his elephants, &c. none of which were ever attended to. Most of them contain an exordium by himself, setting forth the excellence of loyalty and the true faith, and endeavouring to inspire his subjects with a detestation of Caffers, or infidels, that is to say, Europeans in general, but particularly Englishmen, by lavishing curses and execrations upon them. Happening one day to pick up his instructions to the superintendent of his bullocks, the first line I read was,

"a Caffer—a dog—and a hog, are all three brothers in the same family." He divided his Government into seven principal boards, or departments, one of which was the navy, without a single ship of war. He divided his country into thirty-seven provinces, under Dewans or Asophs, as he called them; and subdivided these again into one thousand and twenty-five inferior districts, having each a Tisheldar, with an expensive establishment of revenue servants. He knew no way of checking abuses but by augmenting the number of men in office, and sending two Asophs to almost every province, instead of one, to prey upon the inhabitants. The defalcation of the revenue, which had formerly been about twenty per cent., was now above fifty. His bigotry led him to make none but Mussulmans Tisheldars; most of them could neither read nor write, and were often selected from the lowest ranks of the military, at the annual muster in his presence, merely from some fancy that he took to their looks. These men were frequently recalled in the course of a year or two, and placed at one of the principal boards. This so disgusted the old servants of his father, that many of them retired from public affairs, to lead a private life in their own houses. By these and such like promotions, the number of officers was augmented, while that of his fighting-men was diminished. He had about one hundred and fifty general officers to an army that did not exceed twenty-one thousand regular infantry and eight thousand horse, though he had above thirty thousand infantry and twelve thousand five hundred horse on his returns; while his father had not ten Generals when he was in the Carnatic, with forty thousand horse, and above sixty thousand infantry of different kinds. His army fell every year more and more into arrears; and when Seringapatam was attacked, it had only received two issues of pay during the last fourteen months. Besides an expensive civil and military establishment, beyond the

resources of his revenue, he was carrying on repairs in most of his forts, but particularly Seringapatam itself, on which he had laid out, since the former war, about twelve lacs of pagodas. He did not however hesitate, amidst all his difficulties, to enter into a treaty with France, by which he engaged to defray all the charges of a body of from twelve to twenty thousand French troops. One of the articles shows the extravagant imaginations with which he sometimes amused himself. He proposes that the French shall land at Sedashaghee, to the southward of Goa; that it shall be taken from the Portuguese and given up to them; that Bombay shall next be taken and given to the French; that the whole Malabar coast shall then be reduced; after which they shall pursue their conquests up the Coromandel coast, take Madras and Musulipatam, from whence he shall detach forty thousand horse and as many infantry, under one of his Generals, along with the French, to subdue Bengal. Before entering into this treaty, he sent round queries in writing to the members of the seven principal departments, desiring their opinions upon the policy of the measure. His own sentiments were known, and they al ltherefore recommended its adoption except one man, who had been formerly a merchant, and belonged at that time, I believe, to the Board of Trade; he dissuades him from having any thing to do with the French—tells him that the plan cannot succeed; that the very act of his consulting them was imprudent; that the secret could not be kept by so many men; that the English would hear of it, and attack him before he could receive assistance: but he was too much bent upon war himself to be turned from it by the arguments of one man; besides, he was continually urged to it by Seid Saheb, who, being his father-in-law, could take more liberty than any other person with him. In private conferences, when no one was present but a confidential secretary, he used frequently to ask him, how

long they were to sit down quietly under their disgrace and calamity, and to tell him that he had considered him dead as a prince from the day he surrendered half his country, and that he should always regard him in that light until he should conquer it again. After the campaign opened, he did very little to retard the progress of our armies. His design against the Bombay army was well concerted, but very badly conducted.

It appeared from the papers found after his death, that he had obtained very accurate information of the paths leading through the woods to the rear of the advanced brigade which he meant to attack. It appears by General Stuart's public letters, that the first intimation he had of his design was the sight of his tents, and that even then he did not believe it was him, but a detachment of no great consequence. Had Tippoo not been fool enough to have shown himself, by pitching his tents at Periapatam; had he remained that day in the open air, and marched early next morning against Colonel Montroser's brigade, he would, without doubt, have cut it off, and most probably the greatest part of the rest of the army would have shared the same fate. His repulse here seems to have discouraged him so much, that he gave very little interruption to the march of the grand army. As it approached, he fell back, and shut himself up in his capital, placing his dependence upon the siege being raised for want of provisions in camp, and upon his holding out till the Cavery should fill, and make the carrying on of any farther operations against it impracticable. He seldom went to his palace during the siege, but spent most of his time sitting behind a cavalier, or visiting the ramparts. He did not go towards the breach,—the state of it was concealed from him by his principal officers; but one of his servants, impatient at hearing the false reports brought to him, called out to him that there was a breach, and that it would

soon be practicable. This intelligence seemed to rouse him,—he resolved to see it with his own eyes; and therefore, on the following morning, which was that of the day previous to the assault, he went early to the spot; he viewed with amazement the condition in which it was; he shook his head, but said nothing; he returned to his old station behind the cavalier, where he remained sullen and buried in thought, as if conscious that his doom was now fixed, seldom making any inquiries about what was doing, and driving away with an angry answer whoever came to ask him for orders. Bigot as he was, his apprehensions rendered him superstitious enough to induce him to invite the aid of Hindoo prayers and ceremonies to avert the evil which threatened him, and to call for an Hindoo astrologer to draw a favourable omen from the stars. With a man of this description he spent the last morning of his life; he desired him to consult the heavens. The man answered that he had done so, and that they were unfavourable unless peace was made. He was ordered to look again, but returned the same answer. Tippoo gave him money, and desired him to pray for him, and then drank water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune.

When the assault commenced, he repaired to the outer ramparts; but being driven from them, he fell as he was returning into the body of the place, in a passage under the inner rampart, called the Water-Gate, his horse falling at the same time; and his palankeen being thrown down, the road was choaked up, and almost every soul in the gateway slain. Though he had got a wound in the leg, and two or three balls in the body, he was still alive, and continued in this state above an hour. One of his servants, Rajoo Khan, who lay wounded beside him, asked his leave once or twice, when parties of soldiers were passing, to discover him, but he always commanded him to be silent. At last a soldier who was passing in quest

of plunder, and at whom it is said he attempted to cut, shot him through the head: the ball entered the right temple, and passed through the left jaw. It was for a long time thought that he had concealed himself in the palace; and while parties were searching it to no purpose, in order to put him to death for the murder of nine Europeans who had fallen into his hands on the 5th of April, the Killedar reported that he had been seen lying in the Water-Gate. As it was now dark, a party was sent with lights to search for him. After dragging out a great number of bodies, he was at last found half-naked; he was known by his long drawers, and by some marks about his person. He was drawn from amidst a heap of slain, among whom his legs were twisted; and carried to the palace, where he was laid on a palankeen, and exposed to view all next day, in order that no doubt might remain of his death; and in the evening he was buried with military honours, in the cypress garden, by the side of his father. With him fell at once the whole fabric of his empire; for the very means he had taken to strengthen it, hastened its downfal. The families of all his principal officers had always been kept as hostages in Seringapatam, and being now in our hands, it gave us an advantage, in their opinion, which, as a civilized enemy, we could not have used. By employing troops from all countries, by raising his officers from the lowest ranks, and by paying the whole army himself, he made them dependent on himself alone; so that, after his death, no person having sufficient influence to keep them together, the greatest part of them either dispersed or surrendered. He was so suspicious and cruel, that none of his subjects, probably none of his own children, lamented his fall. Cruelty and deceit were the two great engines of his policy; not that kind of deceit which attempts to overreach by cunning, but downright lying. He perhaps never made a promise, nor entered into an engagement, without

considering, in the same instant, how it was to be broken. The cruel punishments which he frequently inflicted, on the most groundless suspicions, put a stop to all private correspondence in his dominions; his nearest relations even did not venture to write to each other, but sent verbal messages respecting their health or affairs. He had murdered all his English prisoners not restored at the end of the last war; and it would have been death for any man to be known as one who could speak or read English. Intercepted correspondence gave him no insight as to our intended movements:—we found most of the intercepted letters of the late and former war lying unopened, so that we might have saved ourselves the trouble of using a cypher. He had an active mind, which never suffered him to be idle; but his time was badly distributed, and much of it wasted in matters of no real utility. With a most barbarous taste, he affected to be fond of literature; but he was too tyrannical and too parsimonious to be an encourager of it. His reign produced no works that are worth reading, except the journals kept by his orders by the ambassadors he sent to foreign courts; and even these, from what I have seen, contain very little interesting matter. A history of his own family was compiling under his own directions, but it has not yet been found. He wrote many hours every day, either a journal of orders issued by himself, and of reports received by spies, vakeels, or commanders of detachments; or memorandums respecting intended promotions, embassies, repairs of forts, marriages of his principal officers, concubines for himself, imprisonments and executions; besides this, much of his time was consumed in signing papers, for he not only signed all public acts, but likewise the innumerable letters and orders which were continually passing from the different officers to all parts of the empire. When they were brought to him, he was frequently busy about something

else, and could not attend to them; by which means, bundles of letters often accumulated for several months; and when he at last signed them, it was often too late, as the circumstances for which they had been intended were entirely changed. The account which he heard of the pomp and magnificence of foreign courts, made him ambitious, with very inadequate means of imitating, or rather mimicking, in the etiquette and regulation of his principal departments, the state of the Sublime Porte. His civil and military government was therefore divided into seven principal departments, under each of which were many subordinate offices, dignified with sounding Persian and Turkish names; and the presidents, and most of the members of all of them, were Mussulmans, whom he had been obliged to get from Hyderabad and the Carnatic, as there were but few in Mysore, many of them low vagabonds, who were almost ashamed to hear their own magnificent titles; these fellows, however, went through all the grimace of statesmen, while all real business was conducted by Bramins. As he had given himself out as the champion of the faith, who was to drive the English Caffers out of India, he thought it necessary to gather about him as many Mussulmans as possible, and to employ them in all situations, to the exclusion of abler men of other castes: his Asophs and Tisheldars, or provincial and district collectors, were therefore all true believers; and when the Asophs were summoned to the presence, as they always were once a-year, to settle their accounts, they were under the protection of Meer Sadek, the Dewan, who, having the greatest share of all their defalcations, took care to secure them from discovery. The cutcherry Bramins who were to examine the accounts, having likewise their respective shares of the plunder, were interested also in keeping it concealed; and the Sultan himself, as he had raised them to high stations,

thought it necessary, for the honour of the faith, to treat them with respect,—he therefore never talked to them of accounts; he invited them to an entertainment,—made them sit beside him,—asked them if the mosques he had ordered to be built were finished,—if prayers were regularly said,—how many Mussulmans were in the district, and such like questions, and dismissed them in a few days to return to their stations, and renew their depredations. He dictated all orders himself, and even the very words of them; and was so particular in this, that he often made his moonshees write over a letter two or three times. In letters, and regulations, and writing of every kind, he spent a great deal too much of his time; but he took little pains to see them executed, and left all investigations of revenue matters entirely to Meer Sadek. His leisure hours were chiefly spent in looking at jewels. He never bought any; but his father had collected a vast number in the different places that had fallen to his arms, and used frequently to make presents of them to officers who had distinguished themselves; but Tippoo was too fond of them to give them away. He had generally a casket lying on his table to amuse himself with, when he was tired of business. He had constantly a number of jewellers employed in making them up into various ornaments for himself and his women. He gave the models himself, and directed how they were to be made, and always delivered and received the jewels himself from the workmen. He had bewildered himself for many years past so much in trifling details, that he had abandoned the essentials for the forms of business, and permitted his affairs to run rapidly to ruin. The only objects that he pursued with invariable constancy, were the discipline of his army and the fortifying Seringapatam.

You will see in the papers how the partition-treaty has been made. I believe that it has not met with gene-

ral approbation here. Had I had any thing to do in it, I certainly would have had no Rajah of Mysore, in the person of a child, dragged forth from oblivion, to be placed on a throne on which his ancestors, for three generations, had not sat during more than half a century. I would have divided the country equally with the Nizam, and endeavoured to prevail on him to increase his subsidy, and take a greater body of our troops; but, whether he consented or not, I would still have thought myself bound by treaty to give him his fair half of the country. I would have given the Mahrattas a few districts, provided they consented to fulfil their last treaty with him; but not otherwise. We have now made great strides in the South of India. Many think we have gone too far; but I am convinced that the course of events will still drive us on, and that we cannot stop till we get to the Kistna. I meant, when I began this letter, merely to have given you the history of my fever, in order to account for my apparent negligence in writing, and to let you know exactly how I was left. You might have had worse accounts of me from other quarters; but I have, as usual, run into a long gossiping story of Tippoo and his family. But he is now at rest; and this is the last time I shall trouble you with him.

Your affectionate Son,

THOS. MUNRO.

CHAPTER IV.

Appointed to superintend the affairs of Canara.—Correspondence with General Wellesley.—Letters to his relations.

By the terms of the partition-treaty, incident upon the overthrow of Tippoo, the province of Canara was assigned, among other acquisitions, to the British Government. It is a wild and rugged district, situated on the western coast of India, between the 12th and 15th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded on the north by Goa and Gunduck, in Bejapoor; on the south, by the province of Malabar; on the east, by Mysore and the Balaghaut territories; and on the west, by the sea. It extends one hundred and eighty miles along the shore, and has been estimated to contain about seven thousand three hundred and eighty square miles of surface, of which four thousand six hundred and twenty-two are below, and two thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, including Belghy, Soondah, and Soopah, are above the Ghauts. Of this province Captain Munro

was, at the express desire of the Governor-General, immediately requested to take charge, for the purpose of introducing into it, as he had been largely instrumental in introducing into Baramahl, the authority of the East India Company.

There were a variety of circumstances which led the subject of this memoir to view his present appointment with regret. A long residence in Baramahl, and a thorough knowledge of its inhabitants, had attached him, in a remarkable degree, to the country, which was now, through his own and his coadjutor's exertions, reduced to perfect order. It is true, that he had hitherto acted the part there only of assistant to Colonel Read; but the approaching resignation of that officer was already known, and Captain Munro had, with great show of reason, anticipated that he would himself be nominated to succeed him. It was therefore no agreeable communication which announced to him, that, instead of being permitted to reap the fruits of past exertions, he was about to be transferred to a district even more unsettled than that in which his revenue labours began, where the inhabitants were understood to be peculiarly savage, the climate peculiarly unfavourable, and all intercourse with Europeans in a great degree cut off. Nor was this all. Though the province of Malabar had been at that time eight years in our possession, the attempts to reduce it to due subjection were by no means attended with success; and hence it was very fairly anticipated,

that the discontented chieftains there would make common cause with the people of Canara, in resisting the authority of the new collector. These considerations were not without their weight, in producing a disinclination on the part of Captain Munro to accept the appointment; but that which influenced him more than any thing besides was, the prospect of being separated entirely from old friends and associates. He accordingly declined, for a time, to undertake a task of which he dreaded not so much the difficulties as the irksomeness; nor was it till he had been clearly shown how deeply the interests of his country were involved, in his acceptance or rejection of the charge, that he consented to sacrifice private feeling in order to advance the public good.

How Captain Munro spent his days in Baramahl, his own letters serve in part to show. Though attentive in no common degree to business, he always had leisure for the prosecution of private study. Under this head he included not merely the attentive perusal of the best English, French, and other European authors, but the acquisition of the native dialects. Of Persian and Hindostanee he was very early master; and he now made himself familiar with the Mahratta, the Canarese, and almost every other vernacular language in the Peninsula. In most he could converse with fluency, and in all he could express himself intelligibly; whilst an occasional indulgence in social intercourse, and an occasional fit

of idleness, sent him back with fresh vigour to his toils. When the latter disposition came upon him, however, he never gave it vent, by partaking in the ordinary recreations of his countrymen. He was no sportsman, either with the gun or with the hounds; and to cards he entertained a particular aversion; but he swam, played billiards, quoits, and fives, with great skill and spirit; indeed, his partiality for the last-mentioned game was such, that he has frequently been heard to assert, "that he would rather live upon half-pay, in a garrison which could boast of a fives-court, than vegetate on full batta, where there was none. Now all these amusements were to be laid aside. He was called upon to remove to a province, where, with the exception of his own assistants, his eye would scarcely rest upon an European countenance from one year's end to another; and though he obeyed the call, it was with a despondency which never quitted him during his residence in Canara. The following extracts from letters to his sister, announcing his appointment, will show that his feelings on the occasion have not been misrepresented.

TO HIS SISTER.

Deria Doulet Garden, 30th June, 1799; a Palace built by Hyder, near Seringapatam.

DEAR ERSKINE,

I HAVE now turned my back upon the Baramahl and the Carnatic, and with a deeper sensation of regret than I felt on leaving home; for at that time the

vain prospect of imaginary happiness in new and distant regions occupied all my thoughts; but I see nothing where I am now going to compensate for what I have lost, —a country and friends, that have been endeared to me by a residence of twenty years. I feel also a great reluctance to renew the labour which I have so long undergone in the Baramahl. It leaves few intervals for amusement, or for the studies I am fond of, and wears out both the body and mind. Col. Read has sent in his resignation; and I had anticipated the pleasure of sitting down in the Baramahl, and enjoying a few years of rest after so many of drudgery; for that country is now surveyed and settled, and requires very little attention to keep it in order. It is a romantic country, and every tree and mountain has some charm which attaches me to them. I began a few years ago to make a garden near Derampoory, sheltered on one side by a lofty range of mountains, and on the other by an aged grove of mangoes. I made a tank in it about a hundred feet square, lined with stone steps; and the spring is so plentiful, that besides watering abundantly every herb and tree, there is always a depth of ten or twelve feet of clear water for bathing. I have numbers of young orange, mango, and other fruit-trees in a very thriving state. I had a great crop of grapes this year; and my pine-beds are now full of fruit. When I happened to be at Derampoory, I always spent, at least, an hour every day at this spot; and to quit it now, goes as much to my heart, as forsaking my old friends. I must now make new ones, for there is not a man in Canara whom I ever saw in my life. Nothing would have induced me to go there, had I not been pointed out for the business of settling that country. I had at one time declined having any thing to do with it; and only two considerations brought me, after wavering some days, to accept of it: the one, a sense of public duty; and the other, the chance which

I might have of being enabled to return a year or two sooner to Europe than I could have done by remaining in the Baramahl; but I can have no certainty of this, as my salary is not yet fixed.

The village where I am now halted is seventeen miles west of Seringapatam, and was formerly the Jagheer of Tippoo's execrable Dewan, Meer Sadek, who was cut in pieces by his own troops at the memorable storm of that capital. It was burned down by Cummer ul Din, when he followed General Floyd to Periapatam, to hinder his junction with the Bombay army in April last; and the inhabitants are now busy roofing their houses. The burning of a village is not so great a calamity in this country as might be imagined; for the houses are in general so mean, that, among the lower ranks, the labour of a man and his family, for a couple days, will repair the mischief; and even among the middling ranks, eight or ten rupees will cover all the damage that their houses can suffer from fire. I am now sitting in a choultry more than half unroofed by fire. The few tiles that remain shelter me from the transient glimpses of the sun, but not from the light showers which the strong wind which blows night and day at this season of the year is driving over my head in quick succession from the skirts of the Malabar monsoon. I have been forced to put this letter in my table several times since I began writing, to save it from the rain; my tent is a mile or two behind; because being wet it is so heavy, that the bullocks can hardly bring it on; and I thought the best way I could pass my time till it came up, would be in giving you some account of my situation and prospects.

Captain Munro reached Cundapore, the principal station in his collectorate, about a month after the date of the preceding letter. It was

here announced to him, that two assistants would be allowed, in the persons of Mr. Alexander Read, the nephew of his friend Colonel Read, and another individual, in whose experience the Board were inclined to repose great confidence, inasmuch as he had resided many years as a free merchant both in Malabar and Canara. With Mr. Read's appointment Captain Munro was exceedingly well pleased: he was young, active, and intelligent; but the free merchant being considerably senior to Captain Munro himself, the latter remonstrated strongly against the arrangement made for him. The following, addressed to Mr. Read, expresses the writer's sentiments so fully, and gives a description so vivid of the state of the country, that I insert it.

July 1799.

DEAR READ,

I AM happy on my own account, but very sorry on yours, for your removal. You leave a pleasant situation and a delightful country, where peace and order are established, to come to an unpromising land, inhabited by a race more wild than any of your Mulliulies.* As to the revenue, I expect to get none of last year's balances, —for Tippoo's servants have had time enough to go off with the whole; nor do I expect one-half of the rent of the ensuing year,—for the southern half of the country was completely ravaged by the Coorg people, who carried into bondage some thousands of the inhabitants, and also by the Navis of Malabar, who slaughtered man, woman, and child. Tippoo's troops are still in possession of all the

* A race of hill-people.

forts of any consequence; and Dhondagee's* troops are now below the Ghauts ravaging the centre and northern districts to the sea; so that in fact nothing is our own but a few talooks near our military posts, and no amils can be sent any where else. Amidst all these troubles, the rayets are driven from one place to another, the lands remain uncultivated, and the season is almost over for sowing paddy, from which almost the whole revenue of this country is derived. I would not advise you on any account to come here before October: there can be nothing for you to do at an earlier period; for there is not employment for myself, from the difficulties of getting together the rayets, &c.

No great while after the receipt of the above, Mr. Read heard of the objections urged by Captain Munro to the employment, at least in Canara, of the gentleman originally selected as his colleague. This, with certain grave insinuations touching the extreme particularity of the collector's temper, induced Mr. Read to enter with him into a sort of expostulatory correspondence, which drew from Captain Munro not an explanation, but the following laconic and humorous billet.

October, 1799.

DEAR READ,

I DO not remember writing any thing to Government about assistants, except that they would send me no more grown-up men of fifty. I know you are considerably under that age, and I believe Mr. Rice to be

* This was the chieftain who made his escape on the taking of Seringapatam, and rallied Tippoo's troops, and other adventurers, under his own standard.

equally young.* You are, in short, every way to my liking; and as for your revenue abilities, I never doubted them; but as in the unsettled state of Canara they can be of no immediate use to Government, I 'll thank you to exert them, in the mean while, in bringing on a good cook with you.

Besides the causes of regret detailed above, a circumstance occurred, which had, at least, no tendency to reconcile Major Munro to his change of residence. Hitherto the military collectors had enjoyed a considerable advantage over the civilians, by being permitted to retain the full amount of their professional pay, in addition to the ordinary allowances of revenue servants: it was determined at this critical juncture to place the two classes more upon an equality, by limiting the per centage, on collections granted to the former. Now, though the disposition of Major Munro was the reverse of avaricious, it would have been altogether unnatural had he failed to discover in the new arrangement fresh reasons of discontent. He accordingly remonstrated against it; writing to Colonel Wellesley, among others, upon the subject; and he received from that officer, in as short a space of time as circumstances would allow, the following friendly communication:—

Camp, September 1st, 1799.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 17th of August. I long ago took the field, in alliance with my brother Henry,

* Mr. Rice was a very promising young man, who died on his way to join Major Munro.

in favour of the military collectors. I gave him a very particular memorandum upon the subject, which I know he showed to the Governor-General.

He is gone to England; and I don't know what is the consequence. I have however written about it again this day. In my opinion, the Revenue Board are against you, which is the reason that Government are not so liberal towards you as you have a right to expect.

I wish that you would write me something, particularly respecting your own situation in an unhealthy climate, having been promised a reward for your services in the Baramahl, which you have never received, &c. &c. which I can show to my brother. Such a paper is more likely to have a good effect than any thing I can say upon the subject.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The following from Captain, now Sir John Malcolm, relates to the same question, and touches also upon the avowed reluctance of his correspondent to assume the charge imposed upon him.

19th September, 1799.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I RECEIVED yours of the 9th and 21st ultimo, some days ago, and would have written sooner, but waited to learn the sentiments of your friends at Madras, on the subject of your letters.

You will learn from their answers to what you have written, that they are anxious for your being more reconciled to the regions of Canara. Perhaps, in forming this wish, they blend a good deal of public with some private

feeling. It is your fault for recommending yourself to men who continue to cherish ridiculous ideas about the good of the state.

You know how desirous I am that we should ascend the Ghauts *in our proper character* in your quarter; and I am convinced you will ere long feel the necessity of that step. This I have endeavoured to impress as much as possible on Kirkpatrick; and hence, at the same time, pointed out how conveniently you could *ascend* during the rains; but I have no doubt your deeds will speak more forcibly than any words can to this point.

I could gain no information about what per centage you were to have. I certainly think you had good reason to hope, that an allowance equal to theirs would be recommended for at least a given number of years.

I hope a farther acquaintance with *your charge* will reconcile you more, and that that disgust which you have conceived for the fair *Canara*, after seeing her in a dragged, dabbled suit, may be removed, when she appears, as she will soon, clothed in her summer dress, exhibiting her luring charms.

I have not the treaties, or would send them.

Thus far on my way to Persia. Direct to Bombay, where you shall hear from,

Yours ever,
JOHN MALCOLM.

I add to this a letter from Colonel Wellesley, likewise referring to the state of Captain Munro's feelings. It is no less honourable to the heart of the writer, than illustrative of the estimation in which the subject of this memoir was held, by those best qualified to judge of his merits.

Camp, in the province of Loo,
October 8th, 1799.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter, and as I had some hand in sending you to Canara, I am much concerned that your situation there is so uncomfortable to yourself. It is one of the extraordinary and unaccountable circumstances attending the commission at Seringapatam, that my brother and I should have imagined that you were desirous of being appointed collector of Canara; that we should have been seriously angry with Kirkpatrick, who, it appeared, had proposed an arrangement for you, of which you did not approve, and which had occasioned your refusal of the appointment for which you wished; and yet that, after all, we should have done you an injury, instead of a benefit (as well as one to the service) which we intended. I acknowledge, that knowing my own wishes in your favour, and being very sensible of my brother's, I cannot but attribute what has happened to yourself. One word from you would have stopped the arrangement; and there is every reason to believe that a provision would have been made for you elsewhere. It is perhaps not now too late. I have written to my brother upon the subject; and I hope that he will make an arrangement suitable to your wishes. Whether he does or not, I hope that you will believe that your cause has not failed for want of zeal on my part.

This country, into which I have come to visit my posts on the Mahratta frontiers, is worse than that which you curse daily. It is literally not worth fighting for. Hereafter, it will be necessary to communicate with it from Canara; and I have desired the Amildar to make a good road from Soopah towards your borders. I am told that Sedachee Ghur is not more than sixty miles by the road from Soopah (my most western post); that in the war of 1780, a detachment of Matthews's army advanced upon Soopah by that road. I wish that you would desire one of your

people to communicate with the amildar of Soondah respecting this road, and that you would have a good one made from Sedachee Ghur to meet it.

The drubbing that we gave to the Mahrattas lately, has had the best effects; and although all the robbers are in motion to cut each other's throats, they treated us with the utmost hospitality, and have sent back our people whom they had driven away.

Believe me ever yours, most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Having thus explained the nature of the circumstances which placed the province of Canara under the care of Captain Munro, little remains except to commit to himself the task of describing the manner of his life whilst in office, the numerous and serious difficulties which met him at every step, and the means which he adopted to overcome them. It is necessary, indeed, to premise, that though of the following selection of letters the greater proportion discuss matters of business, they contain none of the dry and uninteresting details which usually fill up an official correspondence; but illustrate, in striking and forcible terms, the condition of the country, with the customs, habits, and even history of the people. The individual, likewise, to whom most of them are addressed, Mr. Thomas Cockburn, was one of those functionaries whose public and private career fully entitled him to the esteem and confidence of all good men. Though educated in the civil department, and then filling a high station at the Board of Revenue, he harboured

none of that paltry jealousy of military persons, concerning which notice has been taken. On the contrary, both here and elsewhere, in Baramahl, Canara, and afterwards in the Ceded Districts, he afforded to Captain Munro an unceasing and efficient support, which, it is but fair to add, the latter shared in common with every public servant whose zeal in the discharge of his duties was apparent. But it is needless to say more. The tone of Captain Munro's letters, indeed, will make manifest how little of official formality was recognized by either party; and how perfectly the member of the Revenue Board was disposed to second the collector, in all his efforts to advance the welfare of the province.

Huldipore, 20th December, 1799.

MY DEAR COCKBURN,

THE letter you wrote me by poor young Rice was brought to Cundapore a few days ago by Mr. Read. You have contrived to crowd a great number of opinions and questions into a very small space; and I mean, when more at leisure, to endeavour to answer them as well as I can. Though I talk of being busy, I don't pretend that I am doing much, but that I meet with a great deal of trouble in doing little,—for, besides the confusion and disorder kept up by our not being complete masters of the country till October, and by the open and secret opposition of a tribe of Rajahs and their adherents, the rayets themselves are a most unruly and turbulent race. This however, without ascribing to them any naturally bad disposition, may be easily accounted for when we know, that they have twice lost the advantageous tenures by which they

held their lands—once by Hyder's conquest, and now by that of the Company. Before they fell under the Mysore Government, their land-tax was probably as light as that of most countries in Europe. When Tippoo's finances became totally deranged about four years ago, when he did not receive fifty per cent. of his revenue, they joined the Sirkar servants in plundering, and recovered in some measure their lost rights, by being permitted to withhold twenty and twenty-five per cent. of their rents.* On my arrival, they wanted not only to keep what they had got, but also to get more; while I was resolved, after making allowance for the desolation of two wars, to bring the revenue back to what it had been in 1789, the last year of any regular government in Tippoo's reign, and then to leave it to Government to relinquish as much of it as they might think fit. As soon as they discovered my intention, they entered into combinations to bring me to terms. These sort of combinations had been very general under the weak and profligate set of rulers they had had since 1792. They were even encouraged, because men in office always contrived to receive something for settling them; and the inhabitants too gained their ends, in some measure, by obtaining a remission of rent on account of the loss they were supposed to have sustained from the neglect of cultivation during their temporary insurrection. They sent me proposals from all quarters, demanding, in general, a remission of all additional assessments since the conquest of Hyder, as the only condition on which they would agree to enter into any discussion about a settlement. I of course rejected all preliminaries but such as I might think it necessary, upon examination, to prescribe to myself. This was considered by them as a declaration of war, and they lost no time in taking the field; that is to say, they refused

* The land-tax due to Government is here meant; not the landlord's rent, as the English reader might suppose.

to come to the cutcherry. They absconded when peons were sent for them. They almost starved some of the amildars I had detached, by preventing them from getting fire and water; and whenever I approached a village, the inhabitants went off to another, so that I was sometimes several weeks in a district without seeing one of them. Reports had been circulated among them, that the country was soon to be placed under the Bombay Government; and they therefore hoped, that by keeping aloof for a time they would either see me removed, or constrain me to submit, lest the season should pass away before I could make a settlement. Perseverance on my part, however, at last brought over some deserters; and by talking to them, as your friend Cleveland* would probably have done, they brought over more; and I am now getting on as well as I can expect; but they are such a different kind of people to any rayets to the eastward of the Ghauts, that I have still but very little confidence in their engagements, and am very far from being satisfied that they will perform them; and I can hardly venture to say that I shall come within ten per cent. of the settlement. Six months will however decide the question:—a great deal of this is owing to their obstinacy; for if, instead of rising in a mass like Frenchmen, and sending in memorials about privileges, they had spent the time in the cutcherry, in discussing the state of cultivation in their different villages, the settlement would have been much more accurate than it is—easier for them to pay, and for me to realize. One of the chief obstacles to my progress is the difficulty of procuring men qualified to act in the revenue line: few of the

* This gentleman was a very remarkable Bengal civilian, who civilized a wild and unruly hill-people in one of the provinces under that Government, and won their hearts by much the same kind of treatment which Sir Thomas Munro was in the habit of exercising in other quarters.

natives of Canara are fit, because they have had no experience, having scarcely ever been employed either by Hyder or Tippoo: all business therefore has been carried on by people from Mysore; but they have for some years past been accustomed to such unlimited peculation, that it would be madness to trust them; and as this is a country to which revenue Brahmins seldom resort without a previous engagement, I have no choice, but am obliged to take such as I can get. It cannot be supposed that I yet know much of the state of landed property. I have seen enough, however, to convince me that it is very different in different parts of the country. Whole villages have in some places been abandoned by the owners from the exorbitance of the assessment;* in others, they are barely able to keep their ground and subsist: and in others the rent is so moderate, that the lands are saleable. Wherever this is the case, the owners are a bold, sturdy set of fellows, and would spurn at your plan of being made dependent on any mesne lord. It is not always easy, therefore, to distinguish who is the immediate cultivator and who is not. A man who, with a pair of half-starved bullocks, cultivates two or three acres, and has no other means of subsistence, is a labourer and an immediate cultivator; but a man who has five hundred acres, and subrents four hundred and fifty, can hardly be called an immediate cultivator, even though on the other fifty, which he keeps in his own hands, he should sometimes guide the plough, rather from simplicity of manners, and an honourable habit of industry, than from necessity. But my letter gets long, and this is an endless subject; so let me answer one or two of your questions. Canara produces nothing but rice and cocoa-nuts; its dry lands are totally unproductive; so that the little wheat, or other dry grain, that is raised, is sown in the paddy fields, where the water has

* Another term for what might more appropriately be called land-tax.

been insufficient for rice. It produces hardly any pepper. The sandal-wood and pepper for exportation come all from Nuggar and Soondah. (The soil is perhaps the poorest in India. The eternal rains have long ago washed away the rich parts, if ever it had any, and left nothing but sand and gravel.) One crop under a tank, in Mysore or the Carnatic, yields more than three here. All the necessaries of life are extravagantly dear: rice is double the price it is above the Ghauts; cloth is twice or thrice as much, and ghee, tamarinds, &c. five or six times; so that it will be impossible to get cutcherry-servants here at the same rate as above the Ghauts. There are no manufactures. The inhabitants are all either farmers, fishermen, or bazaarmen. The Company can therefore have no investment of cloths; and if they want pepper, I hope they will purchase it in the market, and not harrass the people, and impede the cultivation of it, by absurd monopolies. The face of the country is rude and savage beyond description. You are a traveller, and have seen the Raycottah Pass; a few deep water-courses thrown into the narrow valleys about it, would give you some faint idea of what are called the Plains of Canara. As far as I can guess by the eye, not one-twentieth part of the country is cultivated; and if you want to cross it in any direction, except in the few places where roads have been made at a great labour, you must walk, for it is too rugged for riding. As to the table-land you talk of, what I have got is a narrow, jungly stripe, along the head of the Ghauts, upon which the clouds breaking, pour down more water than in the low country. Had we extended ourselves to Harponhilly, I might have kept the field in my tent there during the rainy season, when there was nothing to be done here, and returned again upon the breaking up of the monsoon; but now I have nothing for it, but to shut myself up during five months at Busoor, or, according to the maps,

Barcelore, and not see a single soul but an assistant: the other six or seven months, I must go my rounds from Mount Delly to the neighbourhood of Durwar; and through all this wild tract I shall scarcely meet with an European, except in the three or four weeks that I must spend at Mangalore. What a vain, unprofitable life I lead! Had I remained in the Baramahl, I should have found leisure for many other pursuits, as well as revenue; but here all is new: it is like labouring for ever at the rudiments of a strange language. Whenever I have leisure to think at all, I wish myself any where else but here. I doubt much, even if I had the means of returning to Europe, whether I could settle there after so long a residence in India: but, at any rate, I am convinced that lingering out the dregs of life there can never compensate the consuming the best of my days in solitude on the Malabar coast. I admire your recommending me to change my situation frequently, and take care of my health. I change my situation every week,—but the sun follows me; and no constitution can, for a length of years, resist his attacks in a tent: and I find that through the small tents, the only ones that can be carried in this country, his rays are whitening my aged locks very fast.

One of the many evils of being out of society is the want of books; so that I am ignorant of what is doing in the world; and I have nothing to offer upon any subject, but my own solitary ideas, unimproved by the consideration of those of other men.

Sarsi, 28th February, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

1st MARCH.—I attempted to write this letter yesterday, but was obliged to give it up, and attend debates on settlements, thieves, &c. Except a fortnight spent at Mangalore in October, I have not been more than a

week in any place since July. It is on marching days, however, that I have most leisure; for, by starting early, I get to my ground several hours before the cutcherry or inhabitants come up; and if I halt at a deserted village, of which there are plenty in this country, I probably get the greatest part of the day to myself, and can write a letter; but if I stop near a village, I am instantly surrounded by the inhabitants, with all their stories of grievances against my amildars, their losses by the enemy, &c. Many of these matters are of themselves of little consequence; but still, among a new people, who are strangers to us, it is necessary I should hear them all. It is by giving a great deal of my time to this at first, that I shall save time hereafter; for, by getting acquainted with me, they know that the amildars, and all other revenue people, are merely servants, who have no right to oppress them, or to demand any thing but the Sircar rent.

No man, who has not seen Canara and Soondah, can have the least idea of the endless vexatious interruptions the nature of the climate, of the country, and of the people oppose to the progress of revenue settlements. From the beginning of June to the end of October, the proper season for settlements, there is no certainty of a fair day. No wheel-carriage can be used, not even a buffalo bandy; in many of the inland cross-roads, bullocks cannot travel loaded; and tents must be carried by coolies. My cutcherry-tent stands pitched at Busroou, where I first got it. I could only bring with me two very small captain's marquees, and three private tents. How, you will ask, does your army move? It usually sends its tents by sea, marches along the coast, and occupies the houses of the inhabitants. If it moves inland, as it did to Jumalabad, it marches parallel to the course of the rivers, and probably only crosses one. The large tents are then carried on elephants; but an elephant would not answer my purpose, because I never move without crossing a river, and

often two or three. The business of loading and unloading him would take up the whole day. Even with bullocks, the business of swimming them over takes up so much time, that I am always obliged to wait an hour or two for my tent, the same as if I was in camp. It cannot be sent on the night before, because it is both difficult and dangerous, in small canoes, to pass rivers in the dark, towing cattle alongside. If I send it on the day before, I lose the use of it for my cutcherry people. This want of tents obliged me to leave all my writers behind, so that I am compelled to copy all my own letters. Besides public, I have had a great deal of troublesome private correspondence. There were at one time about fourteen military stations in my collectorate; and there was hardly a commandant of one of them who did not attempt to establish what he called a police, and force me to write to him. Matters were scarcely settled, before a successor came, and then the same ground was to be gone over again. Colonel Mignan is the fifth commandant I have had to correspond with in Canara: had my rank entitled me to the military command, it would have greatly facilitated my operations. Peons, on account of the rivers, and also the number of thieves, travel only in the day, and not more than twelve or fourteen miles on an average. They seldom come in less than fifteen days from Mangalore. The Tappal does not go thirty miles a-day; and letters by it, though they are sometimes more expeditious than peons, are sometimes again much longer in reaching, either from mistakes in the department, or from my being out of the road, and the people missing me. My correspondence with the more distant districts is much more tedious than that between Madras and Bengal. It would be much easier for me to manage all the countries between the Kistna and the Caleroon, than this collectorate. You must not therefore be surprised, that the first settlement of it should take me

till April. You cannot imagine that it is my wish to keep the field in a small tent, during the hottest months of the year. I have been labouring hard for several months in quest of all old accounts that could throw any light on the former state of the revenue. They are imperfect; but, such as they are, I shall, whenever I can get leisure, make a table of them, and tack it to my Jummabundy, and you will then see the revenue as it stood under the Rajniss of Biddenore, Hyder, and Tippoo. I see plainly that there never will be the least chance of my being able to give you the full and minute details on all revenue matters you were accustomed to receive from Read. He has, I am afraid, spoiled you all; and nothing that is not equally copious, will go down with you. In April, when I hope to have finished the settlements, I do not expect to be able to say much about them; for I must first settle with three troublesome fellows of Rajahs, who are now interrupting the collections.

Your friend Colebrook, who accompanied Colonel Wellesley through Soondah, will have told you what kind of a country it is. Wild as it is, however, I prefer it much to Canara; for though it is all jungle, it is not, like it, full of rocks and rivers.

I would be very happy to get away from this on any terms. I should be perfectly indifferent on the subject of allowances, could any arrangement be made to place me in Mysore, the Baramahl, or Carnatic. I wrote you on this subject before, and shall trust being assisted by you whenever there is an opening.

I wish you would give me a few hints about the etiquette of writing. I shall in a few days write a short letter to the Board, requesting they will allow me to compound a few thousand pagodas' worth of pepper, received in kind for money. The object is trifling; and it is an indulgence, the circumstances of the pepper planters stand very

much in need of. There ought to be no Company's pepper but what is fairly purchased by their agents. After the zealous support you gave the weavers against ———'s violence, I have no doubt of your favouring this measure.

Yours truly,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Cockburn says: "I regret your situation should be so extremely irksome; the more so, as any attempt to procure your removal would be considered *treason* to the state. Such is the estimation of your services, that no one is deemed equal to the performance of the difficult task you are engaged in; and though I can consider no reward adequate to the sacrifice you make, yet I trust you will be able to overcome your difficulties, and that Government will do you ample justice when you have brought the country into some degree of arrangement."

TO HIS BROTHER.

Cundapore, 28th May, 1800.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

FROM your long silence, I would almost suppose you to be as busy as myself, were it possible that any private business could demand so much of a man's time as the settling of two provinces, with Dhondagee's followers plundering the one, and a Civil war in the other.

5th June.—I had hardly begun when I was interrupted. The new countries we have got by the conquest of My-

sore are close upon very bad neighbours. Savenoor and Dharwar, which run along our frontier, belong to the Peishwah, and Appah Saheb, the son of Penseram Bhow; but neither of them has much authority. Their deputies plunder each other, and are seldom able to enforce the collections of their respective districts, which are full of a rebellious, or rather a thieving set of petty zemindars; and mixed with them is a fellow called Dhondagee, who was released from irons in Seringapatam in the confusion of the storm, and who has got together a rabble of twenty thousand horse and foot, with which force he acts nominally for the Peishwah, but more for himself than any body else. We have taken an alarm without much foundation. I think that he is secretly supported by the Mahrattas, and has hostile designs against us; and Colonel Wellesley has marched towards the Toombuddra with what troops could be drawn together in Mysore, to watch his motions. I do not however imagine that he will venture to meddle with us; for he could get nothing by it, and might ruin himself. Some parties, in his name, have entered Soondah, and taken one or two mud-forts; but they are most likely freebooters, over whom he has no control. These depredations give us good ground for insisting on the Mahrattas keeping him in better order, and, if they do not, for our taking possession of Savenoor and Dharwar for our security, and driving him and them across the Kistna. But I suspect we shall be like the Spaniards,—keep our tempers till we have got what is reckoned a sufficient diplomatic quantity of provocation, and lose the present moment, so favourable to us when the Nizam is with us, the Mahrattas weak and divided, and no French in India. We may display our moderation for a time; but circumstances will force us to the Kistna; for it is impossible we can ever remain quiet with such a scattered frontier and such a disorderly neighbour.

In Canara we have let a couple of hundred thieves, belonging to Kisnam Naigur, a poligar, surprise Jumalabad, a hill-fort stronger than Savendroog, or any other I have ever seen. We have likewise got a fellow, who styles himself the Rajah of Vittel, in arms. So, between these civil wars, and the settlement of a new country, I have more work than I can well get through, and writing enough to make me blind. This is so much the case already, that I grudge the time my eyes are employed about this letter. I have no accounts from home since I wrote you last. I hope you have a good Indigo crop; and I shall be happy to hear that your calculations respecting the home-market are just. You must not flatter yourself with a peace on the Continent. It will probably all end in the restoration of monarchy in France, after the coxcombs have tried in vain to make some of their own absurd creations answer the purposes of government. Buonaparte, you see, is capetising them; though a Scottish minister, according to a newspaper I saw some time ago, had, in the spirit of prophecy, when he thought he was sure of him, consigned him and his blasphemous host to the lice and locusts of Egypt. The frogs would have had no chance.

Your affectionate Brother,
THOS. MUNRO.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Cundapore, 7th June, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE to-day transmitted to the Board a report on the ancient and present state of the revenue of this country. To draw together the materials, I was forced to go through more labour among sunnuds and accounts than I ever underwent in my life before: and it is not probable that I shall ever again have leisure to go so much into any other matters connected with revenue. I

got together every thing in the course of my circuit, and meant to have devoted a month after coming down the Ghauts to arranging and writing: but hearing of the affair of Jumalabad on my way back, I saw there would be no leisure or days of quiet for such an occupation; and I therefore hurried through, as well as I could, by starts, when I could get clear of mobs of rayets, from Soondah, plundered by Dhondagee, and from Canara, robbed, and their families frequently murdered, by the banditti in the southern districts. You will easily see that it is only an outline, not half filled up; but, such as it is, I hope it will convey a clear idea of the land-rent of this province for some centuries back. I wished to have traced the nature of landed property in Soondah, if such property actually existed there, by a chain of sunnuds, up to the eighth century; but the sunnuds take too much time; many of them are intricate and obscure; and after translating a dozen sometimes, I meet with nothing to illustrate the object of my search. Time slips away, business accumulates, and I am in danger of neglecting the present generation, while I am attempting to ascertain whether or not their forefathers were permitted to eat a greater proportion of the produce of the land than they do. With the view of clearing away difficulties for new men, I shall exact the payment of balances more rigorously than I would have done, had I wished to take a lease of the country. This will bear hard upon some individuals; but where there has been nothing but anarchy for the last seven years, order can only be established by being inflexible,—indulgence can be thought of afterwards. I have pointed out what I think it ought to be; but whether a reduction of the land-rent is immediately granted or not, I hope you will give up the portion of the customs I have proposed, immediately, and let me have your orders soon enough for the news to be spread over the country in the course of next month; and also to

reach the Arabian and Persian gulfs by the opening of the season. My peons in the neighbourhood of Jumalabad have defeated a party of the enemy, and taken some prisoners. In consequence of this success, the expelled amildars of Hurrup and Poottoor have again entered their districts. Another fellow in the opposite end of Canara started up, and burned some villages near Sedasiwagur; but a party of sepoys and peons routed his party; he fell himself in the pursuit. If I had had the command in Canara, it would have greatly facilitated the settlement, and possibly have prevented some of the disturbances which have since happened; but I hardly see how this can be brought about, with so many seniors to myself serving in every corps. The disturbances are not to be attributed to any disaffection in the great body of the inhabitants. The reverse is the case. There are not ten men who pay rent, in arms against us. The insurgents consist of a body of peons, sent down the Ghauts by Kisnam Naigur,—of other peons, formerly sent from Mysore to garrison the forts in Canara, by Hyder and Tippoo, who first enlisted in the Bombay army, and then deserted,—of a parcel of vagabond moplas, who have always subsisted by thieving, and of some armed men brought from Malabar by a fellow called Vittel Hegade, an old pensioner of the Bombay Government, under which he has long acted the part of a rajah. It is he who has set up a Moorman, under the title of Futteh Hyder. I have no doubt of my peons being able with fifty sepoys to quell this desperate rebellion, as it is called. The enemy have no real strength, because no part of the country is for them. They have, however, continued to establish the reign of terror, by burning the houses of some, and murdering others, who either refused to act with, or informed against them. Had I leisure to enter into such details, I could give many strong proofs of the fidelity, or loyalty, or what you please, of our new subjects.

After all the alarm of general insurrection, I imagine I shall have less trouble with Futteh Hyder than with Cecil Smith.* He has called on me to send accounts current and vouchers the 3rd of every month, or else to give good reasons for not doing so. Nothing is more difficult than to find reasons that shall satisfy a man on a subject he does not understand. This third day is certainly a theme on which the auditor and I, without understanding one another, may write a great deal for what the French call public instruction.

Yours truly,
THOMAS MUNRO.

Cundapore, 13th July, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

THE Board will probably be averse to making the reductions I have proposed, till the permanent system is introduced. The benefit, however, to be derived from any system, consists chiefly in an abatement of rent; and the sooner the inhabitants experience the benefit the better. I am not, however, in a hurry,—for if Canara is not in such easy circumstances as it ought to be, it is, at least, as easy as the Baramahl. You may therefore defer till a future occasion a part, or the whole, of the proposed reduction of land-rent; but with respect to customs, unless you reduce those on rice exported to two Bashy. pagodas per conjee, and abolish the inland transport duties on that article,—for there is hardly any other grain in Canara,—you will rather hurt than improve your revenue. The loss would be only temporary. Next year, or the following, the increase of the quantity exported would, I am persuaded, counterbalance the decrease occasioned by lowering the duty. I hope you will allow the reduction this year.

* The Accountant-general.

I wait anxiously for it, in order to settle the customs for 1210, which is now begun. I am in some haste, because I suspect I shall be called, by the progress of our military operations, to Soondah; and unless I have your orders before that time, I shall be obliged to hurry through the business of customs. It will occur to you, that with two internal petty wars carrying on, I cannot possibly have time to introduce any system of great innovation. Day and night are hardly long enough to hear and answer district letters about rebels; Dhondagee's partisans enlisting men; depredations of banditti; revenue, &c. All the writing in the world will not put people right, who do not understand how to go about a thing; and my entering into explanation is too like schooling to be relished. I perceive you have puffed me off at a great rate, and given me greater than usual allowances. Salary is not so much what I want as removal. I came here because, after having been named as a person qualified to ascertain the actual revenue of the country, I could not decline the task, without seeming to desert my duty; but now that this is done, and that the collections, except where interrupted by invasion, are as regular as in the Baramahl, or even more so, I think my work is performed, particularly as the recovery of Jumalabad* will soon make Canara quiet. Every thing was so new, and all in such disorder on my first arrival, that the whole of the last year has been a continual struggle against time, to get forward and bring up arrears. In this one year I have gone through more work than in almost all the seven I was in the Baramahl.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

* One of the strongest hill-forts in India, which had been taken from us by surprise by the rebels.

It has been stated, that, in addition to the disturbances occasioned by the turbulence of certain refractory chiefs, Major Munro found himself incommoded, and the peace of his province threatened, by the warlike movements of a chief named Dhondee, or Dhondagee Wahag. The history of that adventurer has in part been narrated by Colonel Wilks; but that the interesting correspondence about to be submitted to the reader's notice may be rendered in all its allusions intelligible, it may not be amiss to preface it with a brief sketch of his singular career.

Dhondee Wahag, by lineage a Mahratta, was born in the territory of Mysore, and town of Chengerry. He performed his first military service during Hyder's invasion of Coromandel, as a private horseman under Bistnoo Pundit, by whom he was accounted a brave, active, intelligent, though most dishonest soldier; but becoming weary of the restraint attendant upon regular warfare, and enriched by plunder gathered indiscriminately from friend and foe, he abandoned the Sultan's service at an early period of Lord Cornwallis's campaign. He now betook himself, with a few followers, to the neighbourhood of Dharwar, where, after the conclusion of peace, and the return of the Mahratta armies, he collected a band of freebooters, and, commencing robber by profession, levied heavy contributions upon the provinces north of the Toombuddra. Dhondee, however, was willing to cloak his

marauding propensities under the show of devotion to his late master's interests. With this view he opened a negotiation with Tippoo, in which he undertook, on certain conditions, and with a little secret aid, to recover for him the whole principality of Savenoor; but before matters could be fully adjusted, his own precipitancy drew upon him the angry notice of the court of Poonah, which sent against him a considerable army, under the command of a chief named Gockla. After a protracted resistance, Dhondee was at length totally defeated, and compelled to enter, with his whole party, consisting of two hundred horse, into Tippoo's service.

This event occurred in June, 1794; but his reception, though not more severe than his crimes merited, accorded well with the cruel and deceitful character of the Sultan. He was offered large preferments as the reward of his conversion to Mohammedanism; and on refusing to abandon the religion of his fathers, he was cast into prison. Finally, his troop, after being plundered of horses, arms, and clothing, were dismissed; he himself was forcibly circumcised, and, having narrowly escaped death by the hand of the executioner, was kept closely confined in irons till the capture of Seringapatam.

During the confusion incident upon that event, Dhondee escaped from his dungeon; and gathering round him a band of desperate men, he aspired at nothing less than the establishment of

a new and formidable dynasty in the South. Had his caution been equal to his daring, though he must have doubtless failed in the end, his overthrow would have been a matter of greater difficulty than it proved to be; but by seeking, with reckless activity, to introduce anarchy even where his influence extended, he brought upon himself at once the vengeance of the British Government. The army of Mysore, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, was directed against him, and a campaign begun, which has never, as far as I know, been minutely described; but of which it may truly be said, that the operations exhibit no indistinct developement of that extraordinary genius which has since obtained for the Duke of Wellington a name second to none in military history.

Colonel Wellesley, having drawn a portion of his force together, passed the Toombuddra on the 24th of June, and advancing to Ranny Bidnore, carried it by assault on the 27th. From that date up to the 2d of July, he found ample occupation in clearing the Nugger country of Dhondee's cavalry; after accomplishing which, and receiving supplies of men and grain, he pushed for the Wirdah. The river being crossed on the 11th, a redoubt was constructed, as well for the protection of the boats as to secure the communication with the rear; when information being received that Dhondee was on the march to offer battle, Colonel Wellesley moved on the

12th, and took possession, on the 14th, of the town of Savenoor. Into this place he threw his baggage for safety, he himself encamping in front of it; but Dhondee, though he approached within two coss of the British position, and closely reconnoitred it, did not venture to attack; on the contrary, he retreated to Hoondgul, whither, on the 14th, Colonel Wellesley followed him; but he had evacuated it ere the columns reached their ground, and, though the town was taken by storm, Dhondee escaped.

On the 15th, Colonel Wellesley marched against Luckmasur, which, as had been the case with Hoondgul, was abandoned; and on the 16th, he raised the siege of Sirholly. The 17th again was spent in retracing his steps to Savenoor; whilst, on the 18th, he directed the Mahratta force, stationed at Hallehall, to join him. From this date his own letters, written with the unreserved freedom of private friendship, continue the narrative of events; and as these have happily been preserved among Sir Thomas Munro's papers, I subjoin them without one word of comment or remark.

Camp at Savenoor, July 20th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I WAS joined last night by Gockla's cavalry, and expect to be joined this day by that under Chentomeny Row. This materially alters my situation as it stood in regard to Soondah. In order to get that corps from Hillcah, it must now come to me; and on its route it may as

well clear out Budna Goor, and all that country. I have sent orders accordingly; and if guns are wanted for Budna Goor, they will be furnished from a redoubt which I have upon the Werdah, which is about seven miles from Bancapoor.

Send orders by express to your people, to use every exertion to supply the wants of the corps, and afterwards the same exertions to forward supplies to my troops.

I wrote to Mungush Row this day upon the subject.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

I have just received your letter of the 15th, and I shall be obliged to you if you will delay the sale of your rice for a short time.

I venture to introduce here a letter addressed to Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry Close, because it connects the preceding with those which follow. It is only necessary to add, that on the 26th Dummal was stormed, and that on the 27th Gudduck was given up without resistance.

Camp, right of the Malpoorba, opposite Manowly,
July 31st, 1800.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I have struck a blow against Dhondee, which he will feel severely.

After the fall of Dummul and Gudduck, I heard that Dhoondee was encamped near Soondetty, west of the Parasquer Hill, and that his object was to cover the passage of his baggage over the Malpoorba, at Manowly. I then determined upon a plan to attack both him and his baggage at the same time, in co-operation with Bowser. His detachment, however, did not arrive at Dummul till the

28th, and was two marches in my rear; but I thought it most important that I should approach Dhoondee's army at all events, and take advantage of any movement which he might make. I accordingly moved on, and arrived on the 29th at Alligawady, which is fifteen miles from Soondetty, and twenty-six from this place. I intended to halt at Alligawady till the 31st, on which day I expected Colonel Bowser at Nargoond; but Dhoondee broke up from Soondetty as soon as he heard of my arrival at Alligawady, sent part of his army to Doodwar, part towards Jillahaul, and part with the baggage to this place. I then marched on the morning of the 30th to Augugoor, which is east of the Parasqur Hill, where I learnt that Dhoondee was here with his baggage. I determined to move on and attack him. I surprised his camp at three o'clock in the evening, with the cavalry, and we drove into the river or destroyed every body that was in it, took an elephant, several camels, bullocks, horses innumerable, families, women, children, &c. &c. The guns were gone over, and we made an attempt to dismount them by a fire from this side; but it was getting dark, my infantry was fatigued by the length of the march, we lost a man or two, I saw plainly that we should not succeed, and I therefore withdrew my guns to my camp. I do not know whether Dhoondee was with this part of the army; but I rather believe he was not. Bubber Jung was in the camp, put on his armour to fight, mounted his horse, and rode him into the river, where he was drowned. Numbers met with the same fate.

One Tanda of binjarries, in this neighbourhood, has sent to me for Cowle, and I have got the family of a head binjarry among those of several others. I have detained them; but have sent Cowle to the binjarry.

I hear that every body is deserting Dhoondee, and I believe it, as my Mahrattas are going out this night to attack one of his parties gone towards Doodwar. They were before very partial to my camp.

I have a plan for crossing some Europeans over the river to destroy the guns, which I am afraid I cannot bring off; and then I think I shall have done this business completely. I am not quite certain of success however, as the river is broad and rapid.

Believe me, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

P. S.—I have just returned from the river, and have got the guns, six in number. I made the Europeans swim over to seize a boat. The fort was evacuated. We got the boat and guns, which I have given to the Mahrattas.

GENERAL WELLESLEY TO MAJOR MUNRO.

Camp at Kittoor, August 7th, 1800.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I ARRIVED here on the 5th. Dhoondee had gone even to the sources of the Malpoorba, where he passed, and his baggage is following him. Colonel Stevenson is after them, and will cut off part of the tail, I hope. I have halted here in the neighbourhood of a bamboo jungle, to make boats, which I must have upon the river, in order to keep up my communication with my rear.

I went yesterday to Hullihall, and was glad to see the country so much improved since last year; it is now one sheet of cultivation. The dubash there ought to be hanged for having made any difficulties in collecting the rice to be stored.

My principal objects in going to Hullihall, were to converse with your amildar respecting his operations upon the frontier, and with him and the paymaster's man, respecting a depôt for my troops to be made at that place.

In regard to the forts, the allies, respecting whom it would be inconvenient to convert them into enemies at the

present moment, are exceedingly offended at their forts being taken from them by a parcel of peons. Besides, to tell you the truth, now that Dhoondee is off, I don't see what end it will answer to put your guards in the forts on the frontier, excepting to perpetuate confusion.

The Company do not intend, I believe, in consequence of this warfare, to take possession of any territory. To garrison a fort then against the inclination of the person who deems himself, and is supposed by the Government, to be the rightful owner, will only tend to bring on a kind of minor contest on the borders between your amildars and the Mahratta killedars, in which nobody will be gainers excepting the thieves, and which we, above all other people, ought to endeavour to avoid.

I have therefore desired your man to withdraw his people from Jeygoor, &c. which are Goklas Jagheer; to use the peons he has raised, in preserving tranquillity in that part of Soonda, and not to pass the Company's borders till he hears farther from me.

Many circumstances have tended heretofore to occasion this system of thieving upon the borders, and that of one party giving protection to the robbers of the other, which I hope will no longer exist.

First, the government of this country has been for some time in a very disturbed state, and every man has been accustomed latterly to do very nearly whatever he chose. Secondly, the Mahrattas undoubtedly took possession of Soonda; and if they were not encouraged to do so, they were not opposed by us until a very late period, when they broke off a treaty which was pending. They have always therefore looked at our possession of that country with a jealous and an envious eye, and of course saw with pleasure, and rather encouraged, any attempts made to disturb the tranquillity of the people living there under our protection.

I hope now, that before we shall have done in this country (if we do not take it for ourselves), we shall establish in it a strong government,—one which can keep the relations of amity and peace. At all events, we have already established a respect for ourselves; we have gained a knowledge, and have had a friendly intercourse with the principal people; and it is not probable that they will hereafter be very forward to encourage any disturbance in our country. They see plainly that it is in our power to retaliate; and from what I have seen of their country and their mode of management, I am of opinion, that at present our robbers would get more than theirs, or, in other words, that they have more to lose than we have.

I have had some conversation with them all upon the subject: they promise fairly that nothing of the kind shall happen in future, and I acknowledge, that if we are not to take possession entirely of the country, I rather prefer to trust to what they say, than to the desultory operations of amildars and peons. In regard to the storing of rice, the dubash swore that he could not get a grain, although the head man of the place, which is only twenty-five miles from Hallihall, promised a large quantity in eight days, on the evening that I arrived here.

I was therefore under the necessity of desiring your amildar (whom I believe to be the brother of Mungush Row) to exert himself to collect some.

He says that he will begin to do so immediately; and he thinks he will be able to procure a quantity in a short time, which will be of use to me.

He is to put it with the store at Hallihal!, to take the receipt of the dubash, and it is to be drawn from thence as I may want it. There was some doubt whether the amildar would not want money for his purchases of grain upon this occasion, as he had given over to the dubash all he had collected. In order to obviate this difficulty, I have

ordered the commanding-officer at Hallihall to give him whatever money he may want from the dubash's treasury, upon his receipt; and I have also desired the commanding-officer to inform you whenever he will authorize an issue of money to him.

A store of rice at Hallihall will be a great comfort and convenience to me; and I shall be glad to have it increased to any extent that may be practicable. If you should wish any other arrangement, either for the mode of collecting it, or for that of advancing the money, let me know it, and I will alter that above stated accordingly.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp on the Malpoorba, August 16th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I wrote to you on the 7th, and informed you of the manner in which Dhoondee had escaped. A detachment from Stevenson's corps followed his track, and the road was covered with dead camels, bullocks, and people, but we got hold of nothing. Bowser* has since crossed the river Malpoorba, and has advanced to Shapour; and he tells me, that he found many dead cattle, and people of all ages and sexes, on the road. The people of the country beyond Shapour plundered four thousand binjarries. I am now employed in crossing the Malpoorba, and I hope to be prepared to advance in two or three days. I shall

This officer was to have joined Colonel Wellesley at Sinhetty about the 25th of July; but not arriving so soon as was expected, Colonel W. resumed his operations without him. He came in on the 1st of August.

leave something on this side, in case Dhoondee should double back.

I wrote you fully respecting your amildars on the 7th; since that day I have received a letter from Suba Row, (whose name, by the by, I never heard till he put himself in possession of part of the country,) in which he tells me that he will neither come to me nor withdraw his Tamea, without orders from you; and he makes many bad excuses for this determination. I had no idea that he had so many peons as he says he has, (twelve hundred,) or I should not have called him to me; and I have since begged of him to go wherever he pleases, and never let me see or hear of him again. I agree with you, that provided he does not disturb my rear, his expedition will do me more good than harm with my allies.

I have put them to the test respecting the thieves you mention at Mundragoor. They promise that the cattle shall be forthwith restored, and that the head men of those villages, which, by their own acknowledgment, are inhabited by thieves only, shall be given up to me.

Your people at Hullihall are behaving capitally. They have sent me leather for my boats; and Captain Greenley informs me that they will send me some arrack which I expect from Goa; and this will be a considerable relief to my cattle. Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Hoobly, August 20th, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 14th. My state of supplies is as follows: I have twelve hundred

loads in the grain department, and fifteen hundred full binjarries in camp. I am told that I have five thousand between the Werdah and the Malpoorba; and as the head man has not deceived me lately, I believe it. Besides that, three thousand binjarries left me at Kittoor on the 5th, in order to fill along the borders of Soondah, and Savenore, and Darwar. There are five thousand binjarries full, who are following the Nizam's camp; but some of them, I believe, have only jowarry: now for my consumption. It is impossible to say exactly what it is, when every body can get as much rice as he can eat, as Mahrattas, Moguls and all, go to the same bazaar one day, and to different bazaars the next; and it is not practicable to form any rational estimate.

The fighting men of the Company's troops, to whom alone I allow rice in times of scarcity, consume eighty loads a-day, including those of Bowser's detachment. Thus then, as long as rice is produced at all in the bazaars, that is to say, while we are in a country which produces rice, I allow about one hundred loads of binjarry to be sold; or, if the country is plentiful, I allow still more. When rice was not to be got in the country, as was the case between the Werdah and the Toombuddra, and, indeed, till we came to Kittoor, I allowed none to be sold by the binjarries, excepting to the Grain Department; and I issued it to the troops at the rate of half a seir gratis. They then consumed eighty bags per diem.

At this rate of consumption, I have now in camp some thirty-three days' rice, and between the rivers, Lord knows what. It is however very clear, that I am now in no want, and that I am not likely to suffer any.

The binjarries I look upon in the light of servants of the public, of whose grain I have a right to regulate the sale, as I may find most advantageous to its interests, always taking care that they have a proportionate advantage. But,

besides these, there are another set of people who have attended my camp; these are dealers from Mysore, of whom I have kept no account. They come and sell their grain, and go off again; and, till we arrived at Kittoor, the rice they brought was all that was sold. Of these, I am told, there are many upon the road at this moment.

I look forward in future to the following sources of supply:—first, a few hundred loads at Hullihall—suppose five hundred; secondly, when the season opens, two thousand one hundred loads, for which I will make the binjarries go to the Seedasheegur river; thirdly, as much more from Canara as you can let me have.

You see by the state of my supplies, that I can wait till the Ghauts are practicable for bullocks; and I must beg of you to let me know the road, and the name of the place to which I shall send upon the Seedasheegur river, and the districts which you would wish my binjarries to go in future.

My ideas of the nature of the Indian governments—of their decline and fall, agree fully with yours; and I acknowledge that I think it probable that we shall not be able to establish a strong government on this frontier. Scindiah's influence at Poonah is too great for us; and I see plainly, that if Colonel Palmer remains there, we shall not be able to curb him without going to war. There was never such an opportunity for it as the present moment; and probably by bringing forward, and by establishing in their ancient possessions, the Bhow's family, under our protection, we should counterbalance Scindiah, and secure our own tranquillity for a great length of time. But I despair of it; and I am afraid that we shall be reduced to the alternative of allowing Scindiah to be our neighbour upon our old frontier, or of taking this country ourselves. If we allow Scindiah to be our neighbour, or if the country goes to any other through his influence, we must expect

worse than what has passed—thieves of all kinds, new Dhoondees, and probably Dhoondee himself again. If we take the country ourselves, I don't expect much tranquillity.

In my opinion, the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and of the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil: We throw out of employment and of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies at the same time that by the extension of our territory our means of supporting our government and of defending ourselves are proportionably decreased.

Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am in general inclined to decide that we have enough; as much, at least, if not more than we can defend.

I agree with you, that we ought to settle this Mahratta business and the Malabar Rajahs, before the French return to India; but I am afraid that to extend ourselves will rather tend to delay than accelerate the settlements, and that we shall thereby increase rather than diminish the number of our enemies.

As for the wishes of the people, particularly in this country, I put them out of the question. They are the only philosophers about their governors that ever I met with,—if indifference constitutes that character.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Jellahaul, Sept. 1st, 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

UNFORTUNATELY, the Malpoorba fell on the 24th, and Dhoondee crossed it on that night and the next day, at a ford a little above the junction with the Kistna. Lieutenant-colonel Capper was then at this place; and, although I had desired the Mahrattas to push on for the very place at which Dhoondee passed, and Colonel Capper entreated them to attend to the orders I had given them, and promised to follow with all expedition, they would not move from the camp. If they had occupied that place, Dhoondee could not have passed there; he must have returned to look for another ford higher up the river, and would then have fallen into my hands. He is gone towards the Nizam's country, and left behind him, on the north side of the Malpoorba, a jandah of ten thousand binjarries, which I have got. I likewise took and destroyed five excellent guns and carriages, some ammunition, tumbrils (Company's), arms, ammunition, &c. &c. which he had left in charge of the Jalloor poligar.

I have crossed the river, and I am going to the Nizam's country immediately.

I sent off this day eight hundred empty binjarry bullocks to load in Canara on the Seedasheegur river. I shall desire them to go by Hullihall, and shall give them a letter to your amildar there. I shall be obliged to you if you will write to him, and point out the place to which you would wish them to go to get the rice.

I shall also be obliged to you if you will let me know what sum of money you can let me have, between this time and the month of November, after providing for the payment of the troops in Canara till January, when I understand that you begin to make your collections.

I have money in camp to pay the troops for the months of August, September, and nearly for October. I expect at Chittledroog one lac of rupees; so that you see I am not in want, although it is necessary to look forward to the means of procuring a supply in future.

Believe me yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Yepulpurry, Sept. 11th, 1800.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday, in an action with Dhoondee's army, in which he was killed. His body was recognized, and was brought into camp on a gun attached to the 19th dragoons. After I had crossed the Malpoorba, it appeared to me very clear, that if I pressed upon the King of the two Worlds, with my whole force, on the northern side of the Dooab, his Majesty would either cross the Toombuddra, with the aid of the Patan chiefs, and would then enter Mysore, or he would return into Savanore and play the devil with my peaceable communications. I therefore determined, at all events, to prevent his Majesty from putting those designs in execution, and I marched with my army to Kanagerry. I sent Stevenson towards Deodroog, and along the Kistna, to prevent him from sending his guns and baggage to his ally, the Rajah of Solapour, and I pushed forward the whole of the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry in one body, between Stevenson's corps and mine.

I marched from Kanagerry on the 8th, left my infantry at Rowly, and proceeded on with the cavalry only, and I arrived here on the 9th—the infantry at Shinnoor, about fifteen miles in my rear.

The King of the World broke up on the 9th from Malgerry, about twenty-five miles on this side of Kachoor, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately, and encamped on that evening about nine miles from hence, between this place and Bunnoo. I had early intelligence of his situation; but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued, that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning, and met the King of the World with his army, about five thousand horse, at a village called Conagull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night, —had thought that I was at Shinnoor, and was marching to the westward, with an intention of passing between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me, and the victorious army stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry, and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c. which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock, and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army.

Thus has ended this warfare; and I shall commence my march in a day or two towards my own country. An honest killedar of Shinnoor had written to the King of the World by a regular tappall, established for the purpose of giving him intelligence, that I was to be at Rowly on the 8th, and at Shinnoor on the 9th. His Majesty was misled by this information, and was nearer me than he expected. The honest killedar did all he could to de-

tain me at Shinnoor; but I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place. My own and the Mahratta cavalry afterwards prevented any communication between his Majesty and the killedar.

The binjarrie must be filled, notwithstanding the conclusion of the war, as I imagine that I shall have to carry on one in Malabar.

Believe me yours most sincerely,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Besides Dhoondee, whose overthrow is thus narrated, allusion has been made to one Vettel Hegada, another active disturber of the public tranquillity in Canara. The career of this personage was neither so protracted nor so brilliant as that of the Mahratta. After committing various atrocities, he was in the end surprised and defeated; and the following laconic communication to Mr. Cockburn sums up his not very eventful history.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE now got Vettel Hegada and his heir-apparent and principal agents hanged. His defeat and seizure were entirely owing to the zeal of the inhabitants; and I have no doubt that I should be able, with their assistance, to get the better of any other vagabond rajah that should venture to rebel.

Yours truly,
THOMAS MUNRO.

In spite of the numerous and complicated public affairs which in Canara he was called upon to administer, Major Munro ceased not to keep up, as he had ever done since his first arrival in India, a regular correspondence with his friends and relatives at home. From this—and it is exceedingly voluminous — I have selected only such portions as appear best calculated to throw light upon the state of his feelings, to illustrate his character, and to convey information respecting the condition of the country; and give the letters in the order of their dates, without offering any commentary or remark of my own.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Cundapore, 25th August, 1800.

DEAR MADAM,

THE last letter I have received from you is dated fourteen months ago, in June, 1799. I am sorry you have quitted your country-house for so trifling a consideration as the expense, which could never occasion any inconvenience to me to discharge. There is indeed no way in which I could employ my money, that would yield me half so much pleasure as to hear that it had enabled you to enjoy the country air,—to have your own dairy and garden, and to walk in the fields,—a recreation of which you were so fond at Northside. Oliver Colt will make no difficulty in advancing my father any sum he may want for hiring a house in the country next summer. In ancient times, the day of flitting to the country was always to me the most joyful day in the year, and that of leaving it the most melancholy, though I used

to get often wet in October, when returning home from school. I should think very little of such wettings now; for they are but mist compared to the rains of Canara. I have seen only one fair day since the 26th of May, and very few others in which the fair intervals have exceeded three or four hours: for the last five days it has not stopt a moment, day or night. During these three months I have very seldom been able to venture to walk a mile from the house, without being caught in a shower. A man from Greenock would think of defending himself with his great-coat. Such a piece of dress would however be only an useless incumbrance; for he might as well expect that it would keep him dry when swimming, as when exposed to the torrents which in this country descend from the skies. I would rather live upon ensign's pay in a sunny climate, than be sovereign of Canara. If I can contrive to get away I shall go, though it will probably cost me near half my income. The very months which are here so uncomfortable, are, beyond the Ghauts, the pleasantest in the whole year. The sky is generally overcast, and only just rain enough to prevent the ground from being parched up. After my saying so much about rain, you will naturally imagine that I am surrounded by swamps, and can scarcely stir a step without sinking to the neck in mud. It might have been so before the Flood; but at present, after it has been raining for a month, the surface of the earth, after one hour of fair weather, is as dry as if it had not rained at all. The action of the rains has long ago washed away every thing that is soluble in water, and left nothing but the skeleton of the earth, which every where presents a rugged surface, formed either of rock, or of a cake of gravel many feet thick, or of coarse sand; and all is so uneven, that the water runs off immediately; or if there be a few level spots, the soil is so porous, that it is absorbed almost

instantaneously. The moment the rain ceases, no water is to be seen except on the rice-fields, which may compose about one-fiftieth part of the land. All the rest remains uncultivated, because it will produce nothing. The thin coat of grass with which it is covered, is burned up after a few weeks of dry weather, and leaves a naked mass of rock or gravel exposed to the sun; so that were it not for the rich verdure of the trees, which spring up where nothing else will grow, Canara would look more bleak than the most barren spot in Scotland. What are usually called the pleasures of the country, are unknown in Canara. We can see no flocks feeding, for it does not produce a single sheep; it can hardly be said to produce cows, for I don't believe that the milk of a hundred of the diminutive black race it possesses would make a pound of butter. And we cannot ramble among cultivated fields, for the whole country is waste, except the rice-lands, which are overflowed.

Your affectionate Son,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

[Extract from his Journal, which came to hand 4th Oct. 1800.]

I HAVE often wished to write you a journal in return for your highland expedition; but there is no likelihood of my being able to accomplish it while I remain a civil military collector.

I am now literally, what I never expected to be, so much engaged, that I have not leisure to write private letters. From daybreak till eleven or twelve at night, I am never alone, except at meals, and these *altogether* do not take up an hour. I am pressed on one hand by the settlements of the revenue, and on the other by the investigation of murders, robberies, and all the evils which have arisen

from a long course of profligate and tyrannical government. Living in a tent, there is no escaping for a few hours from the crowd; there is no locking oneself up on pretence of more important business, as a man might do in a house, particularly if it was an upstair one. I have no refuge but in going to bed, and that is generally so late, that the sleep I have is scarcely sufficient to refresh me. I am still, however, of Sancho's opinion, that if a governor is only well fed, he may govern any island, however large.

I left Carwar yesterday morning, where the Company formerly had a factory; but abandoned it above fifty years ago, in consequence of some exactions of the Rajah of Soondah, who then possessed this country. I crossed an arm of the river, or rather a creek, about half a mile broad, in a canoe, and proceeded on foot, for the road was too bad for riding, over a low range of hills, and then over some rice-fields, mostly waste, from the cultivators having been driven away by frequent wars, till I came again to the edge of the river. It was almost one thousand yards wide; and as the tide was going out, it was extremely rapid; and as there was a scarcity of canoes, as well as of inhabitants, I was obliged to wait patiently under a tree for two hours, till one was brought. I was, in the mean time, beset with a crowd of husbandmen, as I always am on my journeys, crying out, "We have no corn, no cattle, no money! How are we to pay our rents?" This is their constant cry, in whatever circumstances they may be; for, as the oppressive Governments of India are constantly endeavouring to extort as much as possible from them, their only defence is to plead poverty at all times, and it is but too often with just cause they do so. They think, that if they are silent, their rents will be raised, and I shall therefore be pursued with their grievances for some months, till they find, from experience, that I do not look upon their being quiet as any reason for augmenting their rents. The

party that attacked me, though natives of this part of the country, are Mahrattas: they speak in as high a key as the inhabitants of the Ghauts, which, as a deaf man, I admire, but not their dialect, which is as uncouth as the most provincial Yorkshire. Our conversation about hard times was interrupted by the arrival of a canoe, which enabled me to cross the river, and get away from them. After a walk of about two miles farther, I got to my halting-place, at a small village called I balgah. Though I had only come six miles altogether, I had been above six hours on the road. As my tent was not up, I got into a small hot hovel of a pagoda to breakfast. I forget how many dishes of tea I drank; but I shall recollect this point to-morrow. When I was done, however, as my writing materials were not come up, as the place in which I was was very close and hot, and as I knew my tent and bullocks would not, on account of the rivers, be up before dark, I resolved to make an excursion, and look about me till sunset. There is hardly a spot in Canara where one can walk with any satisfaction, for the country is the most broken and rugged perhaps in the world. The few narrow plains that are in it are under water at one season of the year; and during the dry weather, the numberless banks which divide them make it very disagreeable and fatiguing to walk over them. There is hardly such a thing as a piece of gently rising ground in the whole country. All the high grounds start up at once in the shape of so many inverted tea-cups; and they are rocky, covered with wood, and difficult of ascent, and so crowded together, that they leave very little room for valleys between. I ascended one of them, and stood on a large stone at the summit, till dark. The view before me was the river winding through a valley from a mile to two miles wide, once highly cultivated, but now mostly waste; the great range of mountains which separate Soondah from the low country, about

twelve miles in front, many branches running from it like the teeth of a great saw, to the beach, and many detached masses running in every direction, and almost all covered with wood. On returning home, I found my tent arrived, and it was as usual filled with a multitude of people, who did not leave me till near midnight. I continued my journey at daybreak this morning, over cultivated fields for the first mile, and all the rest of the way, about ten miles more, through a tall and thick forest, up a valley towards the foot of the Ghauts. The prospect would have been grand from an eminence; but as it was, I saw nothing, except the heavens above me, and a few yards on each side through the trees. I liked the road, because it was carrying me away for a time from a country I am tired of. My halting-place was on the edge of a small mountain-stream. There was not a clear spot, enough for my tent, though a small one; but I was in no hurry about it, as there was plenty of shade under the bamboos and other trees, to breakfast. Canara does not produce such a breakfast as you have every day in Scotland without trouble; mine was very bad tea, for I had been disappointed in a supply from Bombay. Some bread, as heavy as any pebble of equal size in the stream beside me, made about a week ago by a native Christian of the Angedivas, perhaps a descendant of Vasco de Gama, and as black as the fellow himself. It was however to me, who had seen no bread for three months, less insipid than rice, and with the addition of a little butter, of at least seven different colours, a very capital entertainment. You, who have fortunately never been in this country, may wonder why butter is so rare. It is because the cows are so small and so dry, that the milk of fifty of them will hardly make butter for one man. They are all black, and not much larger than sheep; and as they give so little milk, no man makes butter for sale. Every farmer puts what milk his cows yield, into a pot or a bottle, and

by shaking it for half an hour, he gets as much butter as you may lift with the point of a knife; when, therefore, the serious task of raising a supply of butter for my breakfast comes under consideration, my servant, before he gets a sixpennyworth, is obliged to go round half a dozen of houses, and get a little at each. The whole together is not more than you eat every morning to your roll. When I had finished breakfast, and was sitting, as an Eastern poet would say, "listening to the deep silence of the woods," the little stream running past me put me in mind of Alander, and led me insensibly to Kelvin, and to the recollection of the companions with whom I had so often strayed along its banks, and thinking of you amongst the rest. I thought that none of them, now alive, would feel more interest than you in——.

20th January.—I was interrupted yesterday by the arrival of my cutcherry people. I meant, I believe, to have said, that as no person would feel more interest than you in my solitary journey through Soondah, I determined, as soon as my writing-table should arrive, to begin, at least, an account of it to you, whether I should ever finish it or not. The wood was so thick, that it was not till after some search, that a spot could be found to pitch my tent upon: it was an open space of near a hundred yards square, which had in former times been cultivated, and had since been overgrown with high grass, which had a few hours before our arrival been set fire to by some travellers, (who were breakfasting and washing themselves in the river,) because they thought it might afford cover to tigers. It was still burning; but some of it, nearest the shade of the trees, being too wet with dew to catch fire, afforded a place for my tent. The people who accompanied me were so much alarmed about tigers, that as soon as it grew dark they kindled fires all round, and passed the night in shouting to one another. I never go to bed to lie awake, and

was therefore in a few minutes deaf to their noise; but either it or the cold awoke me about two hours before daybreak; having no cover but a thin quilt, I was obliged to put on my clothes before I went to bed again, as the only way to keep me warm. The thermometer was at 47, which you would not think cold in Scotland; but at this degree I have felt it sharper than I ever did in the hardest frost at home. It is probably owing to our being exposed to a heat above 90 during the day, that we are so sensible in India to the chill in the morning. I continued my journey this morning on foot, for the road was so steep and narrow, that it was in most places impossible to ride. The forest was as thick as yesterday,—nothing visible but the sky above; the trees were tall and straight, usually fifty or sixty feet to the branches; no thorns, and scarcely any brushwood of any kind; no flowers spring from the ground in the forests of India. The only flowers we meet with in them are large flowering shrubs, or the blossoms of trees. The ground is sometimes covered with long grass, but is more frequently bare and stony. Nothing grows under the shade of the bamboo, which is always a principal tree in the woods of this country. After travelling about two miles, I got to the foot of the Ghaut, where I met some of my people, who had lost their way yesterday, and had nothing to eat. I am fond of climbing hills; but I ascended the Ghaut with much pleasure, because it was carrying me into a colder region,—because I should be able to travel without being stopped, as in Canara, every four or five miles by deep rivers, and because I should again, at Hullihall, bless my eyes with the sight of an open country, which I have not seen since I left Seringapatam. On getting near the top of the Ghaut, the woods had been in many places felled, in order to cultivate the ground under them, and I by this means had an opportunity, from their open breaks, of seeing below me the country through

which I had been travelling for two days. It was a grand and savage scene—mountain behind mountain, both mountains and valleys black with wood, and not an open spot, either cultivated or uncultivated, to be seen. I was now entering a country which had been long famous for the best pepper in India—an article which had been the grand object of most of the early voyages to the coast of Malabar; but there was not a single plant of it within many miles. On reaching the summit of the Ghaut, and looking towards the interior of the country, I saw no plains, and scarcely any thing that could be called a valley; but a heap of hills stripped of their ancient forests, and covered with trees, from one to twenty years' growth, except a few intervals where some fields of grain had recently been cut. Neither in Canara nor Soondah does grain grow annually, except in such lands as can be floated with water. On all hills, therefore, and rising grounds, and even flats, where water is scarce, a crop of grain can only be obtained once in a great number of years; the time depends on the growth of the wood. When it is of a certain height, it is cut down, and set fire to; the field is then plowed and sown. If the soil is good, it yields another crop the following year, and it must then be left waste from eight to twenty years, till the wood is again fit for cutting. All the land within my view had undergone this operation; every field had a different shade, according to the age of the wood, and looked at first sight as if it was covered with grain of various kinds; but I knew to my sorrow, that nineteen parts in twenty were wood. My halting-place was much pleasanter than yesterday; it was an open plain of about half a mile in length, surrounded with wood; but neither so high nor so thick as to hinder me from seeing the hills beyond it.

My baggage being all behind in the pass, I sat down under a tree, and entered into conversation with half a dozen of the inhabitants, the owners of the fields where we

were then sitting. They consisted of the accountant of a neighbouring village, and five farmers, two of whom were Mahrattas; but the other three belonged to one of the castes of Indian husbandmen, who never eat any kind of animal food, nor taste any thing, not even water, in any house but their own; they wore beards as long as those of their goats, and they looked almost as simple and innocent. They pointed to a few straw-huts at the end of the field, and told me it was the spot where their village had formerly stood; it had been burned and plundered, they said, about four years before by Yenjee Naigue, who had acted as a partisan in General Matthew's campaign, and had afterwards continued at the head of a band of freebooters till the fall of Tippoo, when he relinquished the trade of a robber. They had forsaken their abodes during all that time, and were now come to know on what terms they might cultivate their lands. I told them they should be moderate, on account of what they had suffered.

21st January.—I asked them some questions about the produce of their fields. One of the bearded sages replied, that they yielded very little; that it was sometimes difficult to get a return from them equal to the seed they had sown. Had I asked the question of any other Indian farmer, five hundred miles distant, he would just have given me the same answer. It is not that they are addicted to lying, for they are simple, harmless, honest, and have as much truth in them as any men in the world; but it is because an oppressive and inquisitorial Government, always prying into their affairs, in order to lay new burdens upon them, forces them to deny what they have, as the only means of saving their property. An excellent book might be written by a man of leisure, showing the wonderful influence that forms of government have in moulding the dispositions of mankind. This habit of concealment and evasive answers, grows up with them from their infancy. I have often asked

boys of eight or ten years old, whom I have seen perched on a little scaffold in a field, throwing stones from a sling to frighten the birds, how many bushels they expected when the corn was cut. The answer was always—"There is nothing in our house now to eat. The birds will eat all this, and we shall be starved." The farmers are however, as far as their knowledge goes, communicative enough where their own interest is not concerned. I therefore turned the discourse to the produce of a neighbouring district. One of the old gentlemen, observing that I had looked very attentive at his camly, was alarmed lest I should think he possessed numerous flocks of sheep; and he therefore told me with some eagerness, that there was not a single sheep in Soondah, and that his camly was the produce of the wool of Chitteldroog. I was looking at his camly with very different thoughts from those of raising his rents. I had not seen one since I left Mysore: it is the only dress of the most numerous and most industrious classes of husbandmen. They throw it carelessly over their head or shoulders to defend them from the sun; they cover themselves with it when it rains, and they wrap themselves up in it when they go to sleep. The rich man is only distinguished from the poor man by having his of a finer quality. It was in this simple dress that I had for many years been accustomed to see the farmers and goatherds in the Baramahl; and when I saw it again on the present occasion, it was like meeting an old friend; it prepossessed me in favour of the owner; it brought to my remembrance the country I had left, and it filled me with melancholy, while I considered that I might never see either it or any of my former friends again. Our conference was broken up by the appearance of my writing-table. I had placed it under a deep shade, on the side of a clear stream, little larger than a burn, where, after breakfasting, I wrote you yesterday's journal. Such streams seem to abound in this

country, for I am now writing on the bank of such another; but under a canopy of trees, like which Milton never saw any thing in Vallambrosa. The aged banian shooting his fantastic roots across the rivulets, and stretching his lofty branches on every side; and the graceful bamboo rising between them, and waving in the wind. The fall of the leaf has begun for some time, and continues till the end of February. It was their falling on my head, and seeing the rivulet filled with them, that put me in mind of Vallambrosa.

It was so cold last night, that I had very little sleep. I rose and put on all my clothes, and went to bed again; but as I had no warm covering, it would not do, and I lay awake shivering most part of the night. At daybreak I found, to my astonishment, the thermometer at 34. I had never seen it in the Baramahl below 47. I continued my journey as usual, a little before sunrise, through a forest with a few openings, except where the wood had been cut down for the kind of cultivation I mentioned to you yesterday, or where there were a few rice-fields; but none of them half a mile in extent. Through the openings, I had glimpses of the low hills on all sides of me, some of them covered with wood, some entirely naked, and some half covered with wood and half with grain. I met with several droves of bullocks and buffaloes, belonging to Dharwar, returning with salt from Goa. I saw a herd of bullocks feeding near the road, and I was glad to find they were the cattle of Soondah, for they resembled in size and colour those of Mysore. There is hardly a cow in Canara that is not black; but above the Ghauts black is uncommon, four-fifths of them are white, and the rest of different colours. Men are fond of systems, and before I came here, I had convinced myself, that the diminutive size and the dark colour of the cattle of Canara, were occasioned by scarcity of forage, and the deluge of rain which pours down upon

them near six months in the year; but the rains are as heavy and constant here as in Canara—it cannot therefore be by them that they have been dyed black. I am not grazier enough to know what influence poor feeding may have on the colour of cattle; but, if I recollect right, the small breed from the highlands of Scotland are called black cattle.

There is no want of forage in Soondah, for, wherever the wood has been cleared away, the grass is four or five feet high. On coming to the place where I was to pitch my tent, I found that the head-farmer of the village, by way of accommodating me, had prepared an apartment of above twenty yards square and eight feet high, made of long grass and bamboos: it had been the work of a dozen of men for two days. He was much mortified that I would not go into it. I preferred the shade of trees during the day, and my tent at night. His son attended with a present of a fowl and a little milk. It is the custom in India, and was formerly in Europe, for men placed in the management of provinces, to live upon the inhabitants during their journeys through the country; the expense thus incurred, and frequently a great deal more, is commonly in this country deducted from the amount of the public rent. I told the farmer, that as I meant to make him pay his full rent, I could not take his fowl and milk without paying him for them; and that I would not enter his pundull, because he had not paid the labourers who made it; but that *I* should pay them, and order my cutcherry people into it. It cost me a good deal of time and trouble to persuade him that I was in earnest, and really intended that he should not feed any of the public servants who were following me.

22d January.—I am now again seated at the side of a rivulet darkened with lofty trees. I have come about ten miles; but as I understand that Soopah is only four miles farther, I mean to go on again the moment I see my tent

come up; for I am not sure that it is on the right road, and were it to miss me, I might be obliged to pass the night under a tree; which is not pleasant in such cold weather, when there is no military enterprise in view, by which I might comfort myself with the reflection of its being one of the hardships of war. I passed the greatest part of the night in endeavouring to keep myself warm, but with very little success; the covering I had was too scanty, and all my most skilful manœuvres to make it comfortable were therefore to no purpose. The thermometer at daybreak was at 36. It was 78 yesterday in the shade at three o'clock, which is the hottest time of the day: it will, I suppose, be about the same degree to-day. Such heat would be thought scorching at home, but here it is rather pleasant than otherwise. I enjoy the sun when his beams find an opening among the branches, and fall upon me; and were it not for the glare of the paper, I would not wish them away. Nothing can be more delightful than this climate at this season of the year. The sun is as welcome as he ever is in your cold northern regions; and though from 70 to 80 is the usual heat of the day, there is something so light, so cheerful and refreshing in the breezes, which are continually playing, that it always feels cool. They are more healthy and sprightly than the gales which sported round Macbeth's Castle, where the good King Duncan said "the martins delighted to build." My road to-day was an avenue of twenty or thirty yards broad through the forest. The trees were taller and thicker than I had yet seen them. The bending branches of the bamboo frequently met and formed a kind of gothic arch. I passed many small rice-fields, and five or six rivulets. The most extensive prospect I had the whole way was over a flat of rice-fields, about a quarter of a mile wide and a mile long, bounded at the farther end by a group of conical hills covered with wood, beyond which I could not see. It was in

woods like these that the knights and ladies of romance loved to roam; but the birds that inhabit them are not the musical choristers, who, at the approach of Aurora, or when a beautiful damsel opened her dazzling eyes, and shed a blaze of light over the world, were ever ready with their songs. They do certainly preserve the ancient custom here of hailing the appearance of Aurora; but it is with chirping and chattering, and every sort of noise but music. I must however except some species of the dove and jungle-cock; for, though they cannot warble, the one has a plaintive, and the other a wild note, that is extremely pleasing. The lark is the only musical bird I have met with in India. But notwithstanding the want of music and damsels, I love to rise before the sun and prick my steed through these woods and wilds under a serene sky, from which I am sure no shower will descend for many months.

31st January.—I have been for these eight days past at Soopah, a miserable mud-fort, garrisoned by a company of sepoys. The village belonging to it contains about a dozen of huts, situated at the junction of two deep sluggish rivers. The jungle is close to it on every side, and the bamboos and forest trees with which, since the creation, the surrounding hills are covered, seem scarcely to have been disturbed. Every evening after sunset, a thick vapour rose from the river, and hid every object from view, till two hours after sunrise. I was very glad this morning to leave such a dismal place. I had for my companion, every day at dinner, the officer who commanded. He was one of those insipid souls whose society makes solitude more tiresome. I was, to my great surprise, attacked one morning by a party of four officers from Goa, headed by Sir William Clarke. He was going as far as Hullihall to see the country. I told him he ought to begin where he proposed ending, for that all on this side of it was such a jungle, that he never

would see a hundred yards before him, and that all beyond it was an open country. He had put himself under the direction of an engineer officer as his guide, and had fixed on a spot some miles farther on for their encampment, so that he could only stay about an hour with me. He gave me the first account of the Duke of York's landing in Holland; but the overland packet, he said, brought nothing from Egypt.

The country through which I came to-day was a continuation of the same forest, through which I have now been riding about sixty miles. My ride to-day was about twelve miles; not a single hut, and only one cultivated field in all that distance. After the first four miles, I got rid of the hilly uneven country in which I had so long been; and the latter part of my journey was over a level country, still covered with wood, but the trees neither so tall, nor growing so close together, as those I had left behind. I could have walked, and even in many places rode, across the wood in different directions, which would have been impossible on any of the preceding days. I have halted under a large banyan tree, in the middle of a circular open space about five or six hundred yards in diameter. One half of it is occupied by a natural tank covered with water-lilies. The rest is a field, which was cultivated last year. It was just in such a forest as this that the characters in "As you like it" used to ramble. What an idle life I have led since I came to India! In all that long course of years, which I look back to sometimes with joy, sometimes with grief, I have scarcely read five plays, and only one novel. I have dissipated my precious time in reading a little history, and a great deal of news papers, and politics, and Persian. I am not sure that I have looked into Shakspeare since I left home: had I had a volume of him in my pocket, I might have read the "Midsummer Night's Dream," while I was sitting two hours under the banyan tree, waiting for my writing-table and

breakfast; but instead of this, I entered into [illegible] with a Mahratta boy who was tending a few cows. [illegible] me that they gave each about a quart of milk a-day: [illegible] a great deal in India. Twenty cows would hardly give [illegible] much in Canara. He told me also, that the cows, and the field where we sat, belonged to a siddeé. I asked him what he meant by a siddee. He said a hubshee. This is the name by which Abyssinians are distinguished in India. He told me that his master lived in a village in the wood, near a mile distant, which consisted of about twenty houses, all inhabited by hubshees. I was almost tempted to suspect that the boy was an evil sprite, and that the hubshees were magicians, who had sent him out with a flock of cows, who might be necromancers for any thing that I knew, to waylay me, or decoy me to their den. But I soon recollected that I had read of Africans being in considerable numbers in this part of India. They are, no doubt, the descendants of the African slaves formerly imported in great numbers by the kings of Bijapoor and the other Mohammedan princes of the Deccan, to be employed in their armies, who were sometimes so powerful as to be able to usurp the government.

15th March.—This letter ought, by this time, to have been half way to Europe; but I have had so much to do, and have had so many letters, public and private, on my hands for the last six weeks, that I never thought of you. I went in the evening, after talking with the cowherd, to see his master. He was a young boy, whose father had been hanged for robbery some years before. I saw his mother and several of his relations, male and female, not of such a shining black, but all of them with as much of the Negro features, and as ugly as their ancestors were in Africa two centuries ago. I am now about seventy-five miles south of their village; but by traversing the country in different directions, I have come above twice that distance. I am encamped on the bank of a little river, called the Wurdee,

about two miles of the borders of Nuggar, called by us Biddanore. I have now seen the whole of the Soondah; and it is nothing but an unvaried continuation of the same forest, of which I have already said so much. Along the eastern frontier the country is plain, and appears, from ancient revenue accounts, to have been, about two centuries ago, well cultivated and inhabited; but it is now a thick forest full of ruinous forts and villages mostly deserted. The western part of Soondah, towards the Ghauts, is an endless heap of woody hills without a single plain between them, that never have, nor probably ever will be cultivated, on account of their steepness. It is among them, in the deepest glens shaded by the highest hills and thickest woods, that the pepper gardens are formed. The plant is every where to be met with in its wild state, but its produce is inconsiderable. It is from the cultivated plant that the markets of India and Europe are supplied. The cultivators are, with very few exceptions, a particular caste of Bramins, who pass the greatest part of their solitary lives in their gardens, scarcely ever more than two or three families together; their gardens are but specks in the midst of the pathless wilds with which they are surrounded. They are dark even in the sunniest days, and gloomy beyond description, when they are wrapt in the storm of the monsoon.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Morbidderi, 7th October, 1800.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I WROTE you some days ago from Karkull, and promised to answer your queries; but you are not aware that there is so much to do here, that I have not time to

think. My leisure is devoted to sleep, in order to recruit for next day. The most serious obstacles I have met with, and which are to be met with nowhere else, are the shape of the country and the wetness of the climate. I cannot go the rounds of Canara and Soondah by any road, under six hundred and fifty miles. Ten miles a-day is as much as a cutcherry can go on an average in this country; and as nobody travels at night, by the badness of the roads and interruptions at ferries, it is usually late before we get to our ground; and with prayers and ablutions, and waiting for baggage, nothing is ever done on these days. So here is sixty-five days lost at once. When I turn my face to the North, whatever goes wrong in the South must remain so for several months; for I cannot go back and put it right immediately, as I should do in a dry country where there was breadth as well as length. It was a continual scramble for the Mattasiddies to get from their houses to the cutcherry, with their papers damp and their petticoats wet; and when we were fairly assembled, there was as much coughing as in a church at home, which, with the clattering of the rain on the tiles, made it difficult for a deaf man like me to hear what was saying. I could not call in intelligent natives from the neighbouring districts to enter into agricultural investigations; for every man at that time stayed at home to look after his farm. They come for their own amusement to the cutcherry, when the weather begins to get moderate; but then I am obliged, at the same time, to take the field.

There is another business here which takes up a great deal of my time, though it is almost unknown on your coast—disputes about estates. In the Baramahl, not one complaint in a hundred was about property in land,—here nine in ten are on that subject. The hearing of them alone takes, one day with another, above two hours. My business is seldom under ten hours a-day, and often twelve

or thirteen. A man may go on at this rate for a season or two, but it is impossible to keep it up. I am, besides, anxious to get Canara into such a state that it may be managed by any body; and I am convinced, that the people of this country, by my spending all my time among them under the fly of a marquee, are already better British subjects than they would have been in twenty years, had I lived in a house on the sea-shore. But this mode of life, while it effectually accomplishes the important end of reconciling them to our government, by keeping me continually in a crowd, necessarily puts it out of my power to enter much into any details which require much thought and uninterrupted leisure. I am never alone; and at this moment I am listening to letters and ordering replies.

Now, having finished my "indolent excuses," let us answer, as well as we can, your queries.

All my settlements were made with the landlords, or, in cases where there was no landlord, with the immediate occupant. I cannot ascertain the number of landlords, because one man often has land in half a dozen of different villages, and his name appears in them all; but I am pretty sure that the number is not under twenty thousand. All rents are in money. The rent in kind entered in the statement was not a certain proportion of the crop; but the equivalent of a certain portion of money-rent, which was taken to store different garrisons. I gave up the grain, and substituted the same sum for which it had been originally commuted last century. No land in Canara was ever held either of the Sirkar or of intermediate proprietors, on the condition of sharing the crop. The thing is unknown here. All agreements among farmers and their tenants are for a fixed rent, either in money or kind—or both; and it is the same whether the crop is scanty or abundant.

In Canara, all the lands which the landlords do not immediately manage themselves, have a known fixed rent, in

money or kind, which it never exceeds, and for which it has been given from one generation to another. We are therefore sure that, by estimating such lands at what they have paid for some years past, we are not taking a high, precarious rent, but one which experience has proved to be just. It is this system of fixed rents both among landlords and tenants, together with several other leading points, that tempts me to suppose that I know the actual state of this country, nearly as well as I did that of the Baramahl, after a seven years' residence. It is however to be recollected, that it is a subject on which, after every possible investigation, one can only speak with uncertainty.

I acknowledge that my opinion is now more favourable, with respect to the situation of the landlords here, than it was when I wrote my letter of the 31st May. During the four months I was confined by the monsoon at Cundapore, several hundred causes about claims to estates came before me. The produce was perfectly ascertained, because the accounts of it were brought forward by both parties. There was no instance in which the Sirkar's share was more than one-third. In many it was not one-fifth, or one-sixth, and in some not one-tenth, of the gross produce. It may be said that the most profitable lands are the most likely to produce contention. I have reason, however, to think that those alluded to were of all descriptions; and I am convinced that, by keeping a register for two or three years of all disputed lands, we should be able to form a more accurate judgment of the average produce than could be done from a survey. A claim given in by a hundred and forty-one Christian landlords, has already furnished me with more examples of this kind. These men were carried into captivity by Tippoo in 84: they returned last year; and as they are composed of all descriptions of men, from the highest to the lowest, they give

a correct average of their own estates. These estates were confiscated by the Sultan, and divided among other castes. The Christians have claimed them again. It appears from a statement, acknowledged to be correct by both parties, that these lands are now cultivated by no less than two hundred and thirty-five under-tenants, who pay yearly to the proprietors Bah. pagodas 2532.

The Sirkar-rent is Bah. pagodas 859. ⅔ 15., very little more than one-third of the landlord's share, and probably not one-sixth of the gross produce. The Christians are supposed to be the most industrious class of rayets in this province. The average of their lands is therefore higher probably than that of any other whole caste; but I imagine that there are a great number of substantial landholders in all castes, and even in whole villages, in Mangalore, Bantwall, and Barkoor, whose lands would average as high. Had we any means of ascertaining, with any degree of certainty, what the Sirkar's share actually is, the rest would be easy; for by reducing it to twenty-five per cent. of the gross produce wherever it was more, and letting it remain untouched wherever it was less, we should be as sure of realizing our land-rent as we could be in England, and the proprietors and their tenants would be as comfortable as they are in that country. The industry and economy of the people—the fertility of the soil—the mildness of the climate—the facility and cheapness of cultivation, enable the landlords to pay here with ease a proportion of the produce which could not be levied in Europe, without reducing them to beggary.

I am not now inclined to think that more than fifty, or at most sixty thousand pagodas ought to be remitted, or that twenty or twenty-five thousand of it ought to be remitted in the current year: the rest should be reserved till you make the permanent settlement. The use of making an

immediate remission of a certain portion, say one-sixteenth, is to convince the inhabitants that our demand is now limited, and that they may exert all their means in improvement, without the smallest risk of attracting the attention of the Sirkar. When they are satisfied that this is the case, a new spirit will be given to agriculture. But it is a difficult matter, and would be a work of time, to overcome their doubts and suspicions of our intentions by mere assurances. The speediest and best way of effecting it would be by a general remission—its being general, and every where equal, would show that it was not made with a view of averting partial failures, but that it was made because we had enough, and had fixed our demand. They have already begun to show more confidence than I could have expected. The inhabitants of Cundipore, who know me best from my having been four months among them, have taken sunnuds as proprietors for more than one-third of the Sirkar-lands of that district, which amounted to above seven thousand pagodas rent, and I imagine they will take sunnuds for all the rest next year. These are lands from which the proprietors have been driven or expelled twenty years ago, or to which, from the failure of heirs, there have been no owners during that period: they have been considered as Sirkar-lands, and cultivated at a reduced rent, by a succession of cultivators. It is usual to allow a remission of about one-fourth of the rent of all lands which revert to the Sirkar, because a temporary holder will not go to the necessary expense in cultivating them, inasmuch as he is liable to be turned out by any man who bids more. When a man takes a proprietary sunnud, he has the advantage of permanent possession, and the Sirkir has the advantage of a permanent rent, for a proprietor has no claim to indulgence for failure of crops, or any other losses, and indeed very seldom asks it. Estates

are frequently left uncultivated for a year, in consequence of disputed claims to the succession, and a curse pronounced upon whoever shall cultivate them, till they are adjusted. But the rent is paid as regularly as if they had been cultivated as usual.

Your conjecture about the black books* specifying the extent and measurement of lands, is wrong; had it been right, all the rest would have been easy. I mentioned in my report, that the Bijannaggar settlement had not been made from measurement, and none has hitherto been made. Estates are in the black books called wurgs, and are detailed according to their rent, without any mention of their extent. When they are subdivided, the different lots become new wurgs, and are entered under new names, with a reference to that of the original wurg, from which they had been separated. The rents are specified, but nothing said about the land. Hence it happens, that though we know what rent any particular village has paid at different periods, we know nothing of its wurgs; the situation and extent of them is scarcely known to any body but the owners. They are often composed of fields lying at a distance from each other; and the lands of one wurg are sometimes scattered about in two or three different villages. The village servants know very little about them, because rents have been always fixed, and paid, whether the proprietor cultivated the whole or only a part of his estate: they never went to measure his land, or to estimate his crop, for it was no part of their business. I am perfectly

* These black books are the village registers. They are from three to four inches thick. The leaves are a sort of coarse cloth, of the substance of pasteboard, and dyed black. They are written upon with a sort of slate pencil, which does not rub, though it will wash out.

of your opinion about customs, and the danger of reckoning upon revenue to be drawn from consumption; but I must answer Webbe on this subject, as I have just got a quëry from him.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

Such was the manner in which Major Munro (for he had by this time been promoted to a Majority) spent his public life in Canara. It now only remains that I give some account of his more private proceedings, for which, in a MS. journal kept by his friend and assistant, Mr. Alexander Read, I am fortunate enough to find ample materials.

As often as the calls of duty permitted him to remain stationary at his head-quarters, Major Munro, who was economical of his time, rose every morning at daybreak, no matter how late the business of the preceding night might have kept him up, from a bed which consisted simply of a carpet and pillow spread upon a rattan couch. On quitting his chamber, he walked about bareheaded in the open air, conversing with the natives, who, on various pretexts and at all seasons, beset him, till seven o'clock, at which time breakfast was served up for himself and his assistants. Of this he partook heartily, more especially of the tea, which he considered a wholesome and refreshing beverage; whilst of sugar he was so singularly fond, as frequently to request an addi-

tional allowance, for the pleasure of eating the lump that was left undissolved at the bottom of the cup.

Breakfast ended,—and the meal never lasted longer than half an hour,—the assistant received his instructions, and withdrew to the office of his moonshee and English writers; upon which, Major Munro first dispatched his private and official letters, and then adjourned to his hall of audience. There he remained during the rest of the forenoon, surrounded by his public servants and the inhabitants, carrying on the current duties of the province, investigating claims upon disputed property, or obtaining such information as could afterwards be acted upon only by the aid of notes and calculations.

In this manner he employed himself till about half-past four in the afternoon, when he broke up his court, and retired to his apartment to dress. Whilst the latter operation was going on, his assistant usually read to him either public and private letters, should such be received, or, in default of these, a portion of Hudibras, or some other amusing work. At five o'clock he sat down to dinner, from which hour till eight he laid aside the cares of office, that he might delight those who were so fortunate as to enjoy his society, with his wit, humour, and remarkable powers of conversation; but punctually as the hour of eight returned, his habits of business were resumed. His night-cutcherry then opened, which, like that of

the day, was always crowded with suitors; and though he professed then to attend only to matters of minor moment, midnight rarely found him relieved from his arduous duties.

Whilst he thus regulated his conduct by the standard of usefulness only, he gradually acquired, both in his costume and manners, a considerable degree of eccentricity. Remote from all intercourse with polished society, he attended very little to the niceties of dress; so that whilst in his person he was always remarkable for cleanliness, his attire gave few indications of time wasted at the toilette. His garments, likewise, set all changes of art and fashion at defiance: they continued to hold the form which they had originally assumed in the days of Sir Eyre Coote; whilst his cue was not unfrequently tied up with a piece of red tape, in the absence of a wrapper of more appropriate colour and texture. In like manner, his conversation would, at times, assume a character indicative of any thing rather than an excess of refinement. The idea of love he treated with unsparing ridicule, declaring that idle men only fell into so gross an extravagance; and when informed by Mr. Read of the marriage of their mutual friend, Mr. Ravenshaw, his only observation was,—"I would not advise you to increase the difficulties of your situation, by taking a young wife for an assistant."

Major Munro was at all times particularly humane towards the inferior animals. He possessed

an old white horse, which he had purchased in the camp before Cuddalore, and which he had ridden ever since, as long as it was capable of carrying him; and now that its strength failed, he caused it to be tended and fed with the utmost care and regularity. Nay, his attachment to the animal was such, that, finding it unable to bear the fatigue of a removal, he literally pensioned it off when he himself quitted the district; and his grief was unfeigned when he heard that, his servants having withdrawn it by mistake, it died upon the road. So it was with a flock of goats which he kept in Canara, to supply his family with milk, and in watching whose gambols he took great delight. On no account whatever would he permit the peons to drive them away during the storm, from beneath the verandas, asserting that the goats had as much right to shelter as any persons about his cutcherry, and that none should presume to deprive them of it.

One more specimen of the habits of this extraordinary man may be given, ere I close the present chapter. Besides his favourite amusements, swimming, billiards, quoits, and fives, he possessed a curious predilection for throwing stones, of which Mr. Read has furnished us with the following whimsical illustration. "Having got completely wet on one occasion," says he in his MS. Journal, "during a morning-ride, I wrote him a note, requesting that he would wait breakfast. He returned for answer—'I will wait ten minutes,

which, in my opinion, is enough for any man to put on his clothes.' When I joined him, I perceived a stone in his hand, and inquired what he meant to do with it. 'I am just waiting,' answered he, 'till all the Brahmins go away, that I may have one good throw at that dog upon the wall;' and added, 'whenever I *wanted to play myself*, in this or any other manner, in the Baramahl, I used to go either into Macleod's or Graham's division.'"

CHAPTER V.

Removal to the Ceded Districts.—Letters from Mr. Webbe, Lord Clive, General Wellesley; and general Correspondence.

MAJOR MUNRO had now superintended the affairs of Canara rather more than fourteen months, during the whole of which period he underwent, both in body and mind, extreme and incessant fatigue. From twelve to sixteen hours of every day had been devoted to public business; yet his health, so far from giving way, seems to have improved; and he at length enjoyed the unspeakable satisfaction of finding, that his exertions had not been made in vain. Instead of a wild and disorderly province, overrun with banditti, and full of refractory chiefs, Canara became, comparatively speaking, tranquil; the revenues were collected without difficulty; the condition of the cultivators was seen daily to improve; law and justice were administered with regularity; and the inhabitants at large were happy. A petty disturbance would indeed, from time to time, occur; and a robber chief

would occasionally sweep away the property of a few peaceable families; but the former seldom extended beyond the bounds of a single village, and the latter in no instance failed to meet the punishment which he deserved. In a word, the principles of good government were established; the people recognized, and submitted to them; and matters were in a train where, though the highest abilities only could have shaped it out, they might, by ordinary diligence and attention, be preserved. Major Munro felt this; and conscious that he had performed the task which had been, sorely against his will, imposed upon him, he considered himself at liberty to apply for a removal to some more agreeable station.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that soon after the fall of Tippoo, the British Government in India began to negotiate a new treaty of alliance with the Nizam. By the terms of this agreement, the British Government pledged itself that no power or state whatever should commit, with impunity, any act of unprovoked aggression or hostility upon the territories of its ally; and, to enable the Company efficiently to fulfil this engagement, two battalions of sepoys, with a regiment of Native cavalry, were permanently added to the subsidiary force to be maintained by the state of Hyderabad. To secure the regular payment of this augmented force again, the Nizam was prevailed upon to commute his monthly subsidy for a cession of territory, and made over in

perpetuity to the Company all that he had acquired by the treaties of Seringapatam in 1792, and of Mysore in 1799. By this means, the Balaghaut, south of the Kistna and Toombuddra rivers, together with the Talook of Adoni, &c. passed into the possession of the British Government; and two-thirds of Panganoor, with a portion of Goodiput, being afterwards added, the whole obtained the general appellation of the Ceded Districts.

Than the province thus acquired by the East India Company, there was no part of the Peninsula less acquainted, either by experience or tradition, with the blessings of a settled government. Containing within its bounds the city of Bijanaggur, the capital of the great Hindoo empire, it had for centuries been the theatre of constant wars; first, between the Hindoo and Mussulman kings of Bijapoor and Hyderabad; and afterwards, when the latter submitted to Aurengzebe, between the Mogul government and the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Annagoondy, or Bijanaggur, the Rajah of Mysore, and numberless other petty princes. Such a state of things could not fail of inuring the inhabitants in general to the use of arms; and the feeble authority of the Nizam, when it came to be extended over them, instead of diminishing, only increased their turbulence.

The collection of the revenue being entrusted entirely to poligars, zemindars, and potails, each of these became the leader of a little army, and fortifying his village, carried on destructive feuds

with the villages immediately contiguous to him. Bands of robbers, likewise, wandered through the open country, plundering and putting to death such travellers as refused to submit to their exactions; whilst the Government, conscious of its own weakness, scarcely attempted to interpose for the prevention of evils by which it was itself a principal sufferer.

It is computed, that in the year 1800, when the Ceded Districts were transferred to the Company's rule, there were scattered through them, exclusively of the Nizam's troops, about thirty thousand armed peons, the whole of whom, under the command of eighty poligars, subsisted by rapine, and committed every where the greatest excesses.

Of the motives which induced Major Munro to apply for removal into such a district, it is not very easy to speak with confidence. Perhaps he was ambitious of the honour of restoring order to a country, from the management of which most persons would have shrunk. Perhaps he anticipated such advantages, in a pecuniary point of view, as would enable him to return at no distant period to England; or perhaps, which is the most probable conjecture of the three, his continued dislike of Canara led him to desire, at all hazards, a change of residence. Be this as it may, he did solicit the Government to be entrusted with the care of the Ceded Districts, almost as soon as he learned that the cession was about to be made.

It was not without a good deal of hesitation and reluctance that Major Munro's request was granted. His services in Canara were so fully appreciated, that the Madras authorities entertained some dread of removing him; indeed, there is strong ground for asserting, that no consideration whatever, besides their knowledge of the great difficulties to be overcome in the adjustment of the new territory, would have prevailed upon them to sanction his resignation of the collectorate of Canara. This however, united with a conviction that there was not perhaps another individual in their service competent to discharge the delicate trust which he voluntarily assumed, at length determined them; and Major Munro was, in October, 1800, removed to the Ceded Districts. But the province which he now resigned was not again given in charge to one man. As if aware that another Munro was not to be looked for, Government divided Canara into two collectorates, appointing to one of them Mr. Alexander Read, of whom mention has already been made, and giving up the other to the guidance of Mr. Ravenshaw.

Were I to attempt a connected and regular history of all Major Munro's public and private proceedings, for the space of the seven years in which he held office in the Ceded Districts, I should swell the present memoir far beyond the bounds within which it must necessarily be con-

fined. Though less uncomfortable perhaps than during his sojourn in Canara, he can hardly be said to have been at any moment less busy; and his labours, at least for a time, were attended by personal dangers, more imminent than had on any previous occasion beset him. When he took possession of his province, he found it, as has been stated, swarming with armed men, composed partly of the Nizam's troops, now in a state of mutiny, and partly of the followers of turbulent poligars. Three months were expended ere the former could be expelled, and nearly a year expired ere the latter were reduced, or the country placed in any degree of security. In the mean while, and indeed during the first four years of his residence, Major Munro never dwelt in a house, but was continually in motion from place to place, till he had repeatedly traversed the entire extent of his district. On these occasions his home was in his tent, and, strange as it may appear to the common reader, it is nevertheless perfectly true, that he travelled through this wild and barbarous country unattended by any guard of sepoys. But Major Munro was well acquainted with the character of the natives of India. He knew that among the rudest of them, there is a sort of instinctive reverence of constituted authorities, which, for the most part, keeps them from resisting or offering violence to their rulers; and, anxious above all things to secure their confidence, he took the most effec-

tual method of doing so, by exhibiting unbounded confidence in them. Never was experiment attended with happier results. By mixing among the people, divested of the parade of state, he acquired such information as no man but himself could have obtained; and by teaching them to look up to him as a functionary fearless, because perfectly just, he gradually and surely reconciled them to a regular government.

But it was not by such obstacles only, that Major Munro found his attempts at improvement impeded. In 1803 a drought prevailed, which continued with unabating severity throughout 1804, and produced, as in India drought always produces, the most serious evils. The ground was parched up; there was no grass in the pastures; straw was enormously dear; a great proportion of the cattle perished; and many of the poorer inhabitants were forced to quit their homes. By the most unceasing and judicious exertions, Major Munro not only alleviated a temporary distress, but saved the country from the horrors of a famine which then desolated the Nizam's dominions, whilst he continued, at the same time, to secure for the Company's treasure a revenue such as none besides himself would have dreamed of collecting. Nor were other and lesser grievances wanting. His friend Mr. Cockburn retired from the Revenue Board, and new commissioners were appointed, from whom he cer-

tainly did not receive the efficient and friendly support which Mr. Cockburn had constantly afforded him. There was a cry for more treasure; there was an unaccountable anxiety to introduce a permanent settlement, long before the country was ripe to receive it; and even the style of his official letters was objected to, as abrupt and disrespectful. Against these complicated difficulties, Major Munro manfully bore up; and the official documents inserted in the Appendix, serve to show that, when in 1807 he retired from office, he had achieved a perfect conquest over all opposition, and rendered both to his employers and to the people of the Ceded Districts, services the most inestimable.

The selection from his correspondence, which I have judged it expedient to give in the following chapter, is short; not because there are any letters written at this period of his history destitute of value, but because, being chiefly official, and relating to matters of revenue and police, they are not likely to interest very deeply the ordinary reader. A few however, even of these, are inserted, chiefly with a view to illustrate the system upon which he acted; whilst from several, which contain sketches of the habits and condition of the people, large extracts have been made. Some again will be found to treat of domestic matters; others to touch, as heretofore, upon the transactions of the day; and one or two

of a third description have been added, in order that his mode of communication with friends and acquaintances at a distance, may be known.

Besides these, I have introduced several letters from his correspondents, more particularly from General Wellesley, illustrative of various points in Indian history; whilst here, as elsewhere, the only arrangement attempted, has been to give them in their chronological order.

The following from Mr. Webbe,* Chief Secretary to Government, containing an inclosure from Lord Clive, then Governor of Madras, will explain both the circumstances under which Major Munro entered upon his new charge, and the estimate which was formed of his services and talents.

Fort St. George, 27th Sept. 1800.

DEAR MUNRO,

THE answer to your last letter you will find in the inclosed private note from Lord Clive to me; and as his Lordship has said so much, I (contrary to your maxim) do not think it necessary to say more.

The time however is drawing near when we may expect the final ratification of the new treaty; and I send this by express to apprize you, that you will probably be appointed Superintendent of the whole Ceded Districts, with four civil assistants, as collectors of such portions as you

Mr. Webbe, like Mr. Cockburn, was one of those civilians who permitted no consideration to weigh with him besides attention to the public good. He was a warm admirer and firm supporter of Sir Thomas Munro, during the continuance of both in office.

may appoint them. The assistants may be, Mr. Cochrane, Clive's head-assistant, who is master of Persian and Hindostanee; Mr. Thackeray, who has received the reward for the Gentoo language; Mr. Stodart, who has been a long time assistant to one of our Northern collectors; and some other *undubashed* Persian, if I can find him. These gentlemen will be put on a better footing than the assistants in the Baramahl, under Read; but your allowances must be curtailed, in consequence of your pertinacious resistance to the authority of a regular government, and in conformity to that noble contempt of wealth in which you affect to imitate the old snarler in the tub. Provide accordingly, my good man, for your early departure to the Upper Regions; and I hope that you will not require Mercury to conduct you thither. I stipulate, however, that you leave a sufficient number of good men and true, to enable Read to conduct the affairs of Canara after your departure.

Remember, you will be required to move at a short notice; and don't let me find you casting any "longing, lingering looks behind!" at a bit of a back-yard, with two peppercorns and a beetle-nut tree. I conclude that you will not get the resolutions of Government on your letter of 31st of May from the Revenue Board, in less than month. Know then by these presents, that you are authorized to grant the whole extent of the remission of land-rent recommended by yourself, provided you shall judge it to be necessary, after a considerable remission of duties and customs, and provided you shall be able to make it appear that you do not go snacks with the innocent Gentoos. All the inland duties, except the halet, to be abolished, and the sea-customs regulated in the manner of the Madras customs, except on rice, which is to pay one Bahy pagoda per cerge. Set to work, Sir, and expedite, for expedition

is the soul of business; and you boast, I see, of what you can do when you begin stoutly. Yours truly,

D. WEBBE.

LORD CLIVE'S ENCLOSURE.

'DEAR WEBBE,

I HAVE read Munro's letter with attention, and am quite satisfied that the wishes of so excellent a fellow and collector ought to be cheerfully complied with; and therefore consent to your informing him, he will, volens the Governor-General, be appointed with assistants to the collectorship of the ceded countries, as soon as the transaction is completed; and that his time of moving to his new station shall be his own. Ever yours,

CLIVE.

Pray tell him my desire of detaining him on the Malabar coast has arisen from my opinion and experience of his superior management and usefulness; but that his arguments have convinced me that his labours in the Cistoombudra and Kistna province will be more advantageous than his remaining in the steam of the Malabar coast, although I should have thought that favourable to a garden.

TO HIS BROTHER.

[Announcing his removal from Canara to the Ceded Districts.]

Harpenhilly, 22d November, 1800.

IT is now a long time since I heard any thing of you,—not less, I believe, than two months. I have been removed from Canara; so that your letters, in order to find me, must in future be directed to Bangalore. Though I have nothing to say to that place, the post-office people there are acquainted with my movements, and will forward

them accordingly. You will have heard that a treaty has been concluded with the Nizam, by which he cedes to us for ever all his possessions to the southward of the Toombuddra and Kistna, as a tunkhah for the expense of the subsidiary force employed with him. The bargain is a good one with respect to territory, as it improves our frontier; but with respect to revenue, I do not imagine that we shall be any great gainers. The countries will not yield any thing like the sums entered in the schedule of 1792 by Tippoo, because he overrated all the more northern districts from the certainty of their falling to the Nizam's share; and Gurrumcondah and Multuvar, in the hope of his being able to prevail upon us to take them; but as we insisted on having the Baramahl, which was then undervalued, we now get all the losing districts, which will balance the advantages we gained by the Baramahl, Canara, and Coimbitore. We have now a great empire in the southern part of India; and if we can only keep the French out at the general peace, it will, after remaining as long undisturbed as Bengal has now been, yield us a very noble revenue, drawn with ease from willing subjects. But before such a desirable change can be effected, we shall have to remove many powerful and turbulent poligars, and many petty ones of modern origin, who have taken advantage of the troubles of the times, in order to withhold their rents for a few years, and then to declare themselves independent. The reduction of these vagabonds, who are a kind of privileged highwaymen, will render us much more able to resist our external enemies; for, in all our late wars, we have been obliged to employ a great number of troops, to secure internal tranquillity, instead of sending them to augment the army in the field.

Your affectionate Brother,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

The following Code of Instructions issued by Major Munro at this time, to one of his assistants in the Ceded Districts, possesses too much merit to be withheld. It exhibits a just view of the principles by which the writer's public conduct was regulated; whilst for precision and clearness of detail, it deserves to be taken as a perfect model of official correspondence.

WILLIAM THACKERAY, ESQ. Collector of Adoni.

Cuddapah, 17th February, 1801.

SIR,

THE district of Adoni being now placed under your immediate management, the instructions to amildars, of which I inclose you a copy, will give you a general idea of the principles by which the settlements and realization of the revenue ought to be guided. Adoni having been for many years past in a state of anarchy, the inhabitants having been plundered, not only by the revenue officers and zemindars, but by every person who chose to pay a nuzzeramah for the privilege of extorting money from them, and the heads of villages having on the same terms been permitted, and even encouraged, to carry on a continual predatory warfare against one another, it cannot be expected that the change of government will all at once be followed by the restoration of order. A road has however been opened to the attainment of this desirable object, by depriving the poligars and zemindars of all undue authority; and every kind of outrage will by degrees be completely repressed, by seizing and punishing the offenders. Your military peons are fully adequate to this purpose; for it is not probable that the disturbances will ever go beyond the revival of former disputes between neighbouring villages, and the renewal of their petty depre-

dations. On such occasions, whatever the number of the insurgents may be, you should never hesitate in sending out your peons to apprehend the ringleaders; for a very small party, acting under the orders of Government, has seldom much difficulty in dispersing the largest body of people tumultuously assembled.

2. There is no poligar in Adoni capable of exciting any great commotion. Lalmeneni, by being confined to his hereditary district of Pondikonda, from which he draws but a trifling income, has no means of amassing money, and consequently none of raising men to support him, in disturbing the tranquillity of the country. He has no claim to the inheritances of Kapitral or Kotkenda. Both districts were resumed by the Nizam's Government on the death of the last poligar. The management of them, but merely as teshildar, was given to Lalmeneni in 1797, and his first step was to withhold his kist, and break out into rebellion: he was reduced with difficulty, and restored on condition of paying the expenses of the expedition, which he did by plundering the inhabitants. His removal from a station which he was so little qualified to fill, and to which he had no right, was doing him no injustice: and though he is no doubt dissatisfied, it is not at all likely that he will venture to excite any disturbance, because he must perceive that he is incapable of making any resistance, and that it could only end in the loss of the little patrimony he now enjoys.

3. As there is not the slightest ground to suppose that there is any number of disaffected people in Adoni, your amildars ought to act with firmness, and not suffer themselves to be alarmed by every idle rumour of insurrection to which the inhabitants can have no motive. And any failure in this respect, as it must render their authority weak and inefficient, ought to be regarded as a sufficient cause for their removal. Every application from them for

an increase of military peons must be rejected. Those now in the province are sufficient for common occasions; and should more at any time be required, the necessary force will be furnished on your writing to me.

4. The advanced period of the season has prevented me from going farther into detail, than what is called a mozawar, or village-settlement: and as it has been made in haste, it is no doubt in some instances too high, and in others too low. This irregularity is, in a great measure, the consequence of a change of government, as the shanbogues and potails take advantage of it, to bring forward false accounts, in order to lower their rents; but as it is not necessary to make out your kistbundy for the Board, until the whole of the Ceded Countries shall have been settled, the amildars and your own cutcherry will have an interval of some months to correct whatever is wrong. For this purpose, it is necessary that they should go to the principal villages and make their inquiries on the spot. Wherever it appears that the rent is evidently too heavy, it must be reduced, but not until the whole deficiency has been ascertained, nor until four kists have been paid; for if the rayets discover your intentions sooner, they will in every village, even where they are most lightly assessed, make poverty a pretence for withholding their rents. I am not anxious to add to the jumma every decrease in the rents of villages which may have been obtained by false accounts, because it is not likely it can be considerable; and by being left to the rayets, it will enable them to extend their cultivation the ensuing year, and us to bring it to account with advantage. The amildars will send you statements of the loss and gain in every village; that is to say, of the excess of the rents of land in cultivation above, or their deficiency below the present settlement; and when the whole is completed, a copy in Mahratta must be sent to me.

5. The amount of the present settlement, after deducting the receipts under the late Governor, on account of the current year, is to be collected in six kists, beginning in January and ending in June,—the first and last kists are to be each ten per cent., and the four intermediate kists are to be each twenty per cent. of the whole. The potails are severally answerable for the rents of their own villages, and jointly for those of the whole district. Their settlements with the inferior rayets are made partly in kind, but chiefly in money: they are bound by their present muchulkas not to exact more than the usual cundayun, or money-rent, on pain of being fined, and to give a statement of their settlements, both in money and kind, to the amildar. If their settlements exceed in every village the settlement of the sirkar, the whole of the surplus is their own. If they exceed it in some villages, and fall short in assessment on those villages in which the excess is, and if, after this, any profit remains, it goes to the potails. If the total excess is less than the total deficiency, then a reduction in the sirkar settlement, equal to the difference, must be made previous to the making out of the kistbundy. If, after all, losses should arise from the failure or flight of rayets, the potail must himself make good their rents. It is not however to be expected that he will be able to do so in every instance, for his circumstances are often so low, that were we to exact the rigorous performance of his engagements, it would involve him in ruin, and the revenue would next year lose the rent of his lands, which would be left uncultivated. The demand against him should never be carried to such a height as to injure him materially. The teshildar will be able to judge from information, to what extent he is capable of discharging the balance; and such part of it as he is unable to make good, must be levied by a second assessment, or tufreek, upon the moza. When the amount is so great that it cannot be easily paid by the

moza, it must be levied on the magāny. The capability of mozās to make good balances is so various, that no fixed rule can be laid down for determining the exact sum of the second assessment; but I think it never ought to be more than ten per cent. of the jumma, though in many cases it must be less. Whenever it exceeds ten per cent. the difference must be assessed from the magāny.

6. All second assessments must be deferred to the last kist, and a kulwar statement of the loss must be transmitted by the amildar, and approved by you before he makes the tufreek.

7. The potails collect the kists from the cultivating rayets, by means of the toties and tunkdars, or kolkars; every rayet pays his money in presence of the shanbogue, who enters it into his accounts, detailing the different coins of which it is composed. When the whole kist is collected, the shanbogue and potail carry it to the teshildar's cutcherry, from whence it is remitted to your treasury. Receipts, specifying the various coins delivered, must be given through all the gradations of collection; that is to say, by the shanbogue and potail, to the rayet,—by the teshildar to the potail, and by you to the teshildar. This regulation must be enforced by fine or dismission, in cases of neglect, for, if not, every thing will fall into confusion.

8. Whatever light or base coins of the village kist are rejected by the teshildar's shroff, must be made good by the potail himself, and not by the rayets; and, in the same manner, whatever light or base coins of the teshildar's kist are rejected at your cutcherry, must be made good by his shroff, and not by the potails, because he forwards them either from negligence or fraud, for both of which he ought to be accountable.

9. All collections must come direct to your treasury. The teshildar must never be permitted to withhold any

part under pretext of the distress of the district servants, &c. from the want of pay. Should the exigence even be pressing, no deviation must ever be admitted; for it is better a temporary inconvenience should be suffered, than that a road should be opened for peculation and disorder.

10. No servant, from a peon upwards, must be dismissed but by your order, and no new one entertained till he has appeared at your cutcherry, and been registered by your authority. It is of the utmost importance that you should insist on the most scrupulous observance of this regulation; for it is only by following it up that you can obtain information of what is doing by the revenue servants around you, and convince the inhabitants that it is not them, but you, who manage the country. After once giving you an establishment of servants, I shall not, in future, interfere with any removals or appointments which you may think proper to make. If I find peculation or abuse of power proved against any of your servants, I shall request you to dismiss him, but I shall always leave it to you to fill up the vacancy. Though you ought never to pass over the slightest degree of peculation in any person in office under you, yet it is necessary that you should proceed with caution, both in order to let the arrangements of a new government acquire some consistency, and to guard yourself against misrepresentation; for old animosities, jealousies, the hope of supplanting a rival, and many other improper motives, frequently urge men to bring forward unfounded charges, supported by crowds of false witnesses. The common revenue-peon ought never to be dismissed without the fullest proof of misbehaviour; for though he is not, strictly speaking, a hereditary servant, he is generally so,—and this consideration renders him so trustworthy, that I do not remember a single instance of any one of them, who was a native of the country, ever

making away with money committed to his charge. The nature of their employment gives them an opportunity of knowing most of the abuses practised by the higher revenue servants; and the teshiledars, on that account, frequently complain of them, in the hope of being permitted to supply their places with people of their own choosing.

11. I have ordered a temporary resumption of all enaums, for the purpose of examining whether the whole have been duly authorized by the sirkar, or only a part. Whatever has been surreptitiously obtained will be reannexed to the sirkar-lands, and the rest given up. The enaums, pensions, russooms, &c. which I suppose ought to revert for ever to the sirkar, are all such as have not been granted under the sunnud of the Nizam, or some of the former princes of Hyderabad, or their ministers; or under that of Bassaulet Jung, or Mohaubet Jung; and all such, as having been granted under those sunnuds, had however been resumed previous to the Company's Government. Enaums, &c. though granted originally by amildars, or inferior revenue-officers, may be continued, provided that they have been held forty years without interruption; for so long a possession may be allowed to constitute a kind of prescriptive right. In all doubtful cases, your decision ought to be in favour of the enaumdar.

12. The moyen zabitah of your cutcherry is the limit of expenditure on that head. The serishtadars, and even the moonshees, ought not to receive the full amount opposite to their names, till you see, from the experience of a year or two, how far they may become entitled to it by their services.

13. When the cutcherry is completed, it will consist of two branches; one Hindowi, and the other Canari. Whatever may be the merits of the two serishtadars, you must, apparently, at least, repose the same degree of confidence in both, and employ them exactly in the same manner, by

hearing their respective opinions, and adopting that which appears most judicious, and sometimes rejecting both where you see cause. You will keep alive emulation between them, which will urge them to exert themselves in trying who can bring forward most information, and render himself most useful. Your moonshees should be people unconnected with either of them, in order to furnish you with the greater number of sources from whence to draw your knowledge of revenue matters; even although they should be capable of giving you much instruction, they will at any rate serve as a check upon your serishtadars. It is by a general and unreserved communication, not merely with your own cutcherry, but with such of your teshildars, or inferior servants, as appear to be men of capacity, and by receiving all opinions, and being guided implicitly by none, that you can restrain every person in office within the line of his duty, guard the rayets from oppression, and the public revenue from defalcation, and preserve in your own hands a perfect control over the country. I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO, Collector.

The subjoined extract of a letter to Mr. Cockburn, gives a concise, but true description of the effects of Mussulman rule.

Cuddapah, 25th February, 1801.

THE ten years of Mogul Government in Cuddapah, has been almost as destructive as so many years of war; and this last year, a mutinous unpaid army was turned loose during the sowing season, to collect their pay from the villages. They drove off, and sold the cattle, extorted money by torture from every man who fell into their hands,

and plundered the houses and shops of those who fled; by which means the usual cultivation has been greatly diminished.

In subduing the refractory poligars, of which notice has already been taken, Major Munro was largely indebted to the zeal and exertions of Major-General Campbell, an old and meritorious officer, who had command of the troops in his district. It very rarely happened, that these freebooters offered any serious resistance, or, if they did, that they were not immediately defeated; but the chief of a place called Ternikull chanced on one occasion to repulse a detachment sent against him, which was at once too weak in point of numbers, and otherwise unprepared, to carry a strong fort. An extremely illiberal outcry was raised at the Presidency, as soon as the intelligence of the affair came in; and Mr. Cockburn having applied to Colonel Munro for correct information, the following manly defence of General Campbell's conduct was called forth.

Anantpoor, 24th April, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I RECEIVED your letter without date, and lose no time in contradicting the strange report about Ternikull. It was expressly upon my requisition that General Campbell marched against the place. He had heard nothing of the outrage committed; and it was only in consequence of the receipt of my official letter urging him to act without delay, that he sent off the first detachment.

This and every other expedition were undertaken at my request: he had no business to consult me farther. In the mode of attack, he of course followed his own judgment. Had I even had a right to have given an opinion upon the plan of operations, I do not believe that I would have wished to alter the General's own. I thought, like every body else, that Strachan's detachment was fully equal to the enterprise.

As to the loss of lives, it is a thing that must be looked for in all military affairs. On this occasion, it was probably owing to the too great ardour of the dragoons in attempting to force the gate, before the infantry came up. But this kind of spirit among the inferior officers and privates, though it sometimes carries them too far, is the soul of an army.

General Campbell had no battering guns; he had, therefore, no alternative in the second attack, but to escalade. The three guns, afterwards drawn from Gooty, by which the breach was made, were not supposed to be serviceable, and were only at last used from the extreme necessity of the case. The loss is no doubt to be regretted, but cannot, with any justice, be imputed to the General, whose conduct, both at Ternikull and every other place, deserves great praise. Taking the whole of his operations from first to last, it will be found that there is no instance in India of so many poligars having been reduced with so little loss. He met, it is true, with little opposition; but this was owing to his having taken his measures so well, as to leave them no time to assemble followers sufficient to make resistance.

The Gentoo translation of the regulations will answer for the Ceded Districts; for even in Harpenhilly, the most Canarine part of them, a great proportion of the inhabitants understood Gentoo. You will however want Canari, for Canara, as nobody there understands Gentoo. Even

Canari itself is a strange language, introduced by the conquerors from Bijanaggur; and though commonly, it is far from being universally understood by the inhabitants. From Miliserum to the Chandergeery river, no language is understood but the Malabars of that coast; from Chandergeery to Barkoor, the native language is Toolawi; but Canari is also common from Barkoor to Gokurn; the Konkain Mahratta is the first, and Canari the second language. In Ankolah, Konkain is the only language. Canari is the prevailing language in the southern, and Mahratta in the northern part of Soondah.*

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

[Descriptive of the country.—His own proceedings.]

Kalwapilli, 3rd May, 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I AM now writing in my tent on the banks of the Pennar, about fourteen miles east of Calliundroog, which place I left this morning. I am on my way to Tarputty, where I hope I shall be able to halt for a few weeks. The country I am travelling through is more destitute of trees than any part of Scotland I ever saw; for from Pennacandah, by Gootty and Adoni, to the Kistna, we scarcely meet with one in twenty miles, and throughout that whole space there is nowhere a clump of fifty. This nakedness, however, is not, like your's in Scotland, the fault of the soil; for it is every where good, and capable of producing grain and trees in abundance. It is, I believe, to be attributed to the levelness of the country having

* This is no less true than singular; perhaps there is not a province in India where so many languages, all of them written as well as oral, prevail.

always made it the scene of the operations of great armies of horse. The branches have been cut down to feed the elephants and camels, which always accompany such armies in great multitudes, and the trunks to boil the grain for the horses; and a long continuance of oppressive government has extinguished every idea of forming new plantations. While journeying over these dreary places, I have often wished for some of the friendly groves of the Baramahl, or the dark forests of Soondah, to shelter me from the burning heat of the sun. The average height of the thermometer in my tent, for the whole of the last month, was 107° at two p. m., and 78° at sunrise. At this instant, half-past one, p. m., it is 98°, yet the air feels pleasant and cool; for there was a heavy shower four days ago, and the sky has been cloudy and the wind high ever since. It is now whistling through the canvass, and makes me almost fancy myself at sea, scudding before a strong tropical gale. My way of life naturally turns my attention to the weather; but the mercury has been more than usual in my head to-day, in consequence of reading in a newspaper some remarks upon the probable causes of the yellow fever in America. Among these are reckoned the prodigious heat of 96°, and the sudden changes from heat to cold, which are sometimes from 30 to 40 degrees in the course of a few days; but these causes produce no such effects here. I have not seen the mercury at noon under 96° for these three months past; and as to sudden extremes, the thermometer, from the beginning of November till the end of January, usually stands at 50° at sunrise and 80° at noon. In Soondah the heat at noon is the same; but it is often under 40° in the mornings. I have seen it as low as 34. I am convinced, however, that the fever I had two years ago, though there was nothing yellow in it, arose from my exposing myself to the morning air; for I always rise about half an hour before the sun, and usually walk

in front of my tent without hat or coat for an hour, which is the coldest in all the twenty-four. I was often so cold, on sitting down to breakfast, that I could scarcely hold any thing in my hand. That fever has now been long gone, and I am at present as well as ever I was in my life. My sight, if I do not flatter myself, as men who are growing old often do, is better than it was a dozen of years ago; for I can read by candlelight without any inconvenience, which I could not do without great pain for many years after I had an inflammation in my eyes at Ambore, in 1789; but whether the salutary change has been occasioned by fever, or by my breathing a moist atmosphere, like that of my native land, on the Malabar coast, where my clothes were hardly ever perfectly dry, or by my having, unknowingly, inhaled some of Dr. Beddoes's dephlogisticated nitrous gas, I have not yet fully ascertained. I have seldom, I believe, given you so much detail respecting myself; but you must lay this to the charge of those who killed Tippoo. Had he been spared, he would have occupied the chief place in all my pages to you. Erskine often complained of his constant appearance in all my letters. When I write her next, I must introduce the Nizam in his room. I doubt however that he will live so long. He has, at any rate, lived long enough to transfer all his possessions south of the Toombuddra and of the Kistna, after its junction with the Toombuddra, to the Company, on condition of their defraying all charges attending the subsidiary force now with him.

I have at last heard from Messrs. Harington, Burnaby, and Cockburn, on the subject of the remittance of a bill for 1000*l.* sterling, to clear your house in the Stockwell. In August, I shall remit the remaining sum due upon the house, and also 200*l.* sterling, in order to augment my annual remittance to 400*l.* sterling. As my mother is so fond of the country, and as a garden would probably con-

tribute to her health, she ought certainly to be under no concern about the trifling expense a country-house may occasion, in addition to one in town. I therefore hope that you will draw on Colt for whatever it may cost, and let me know the amount, that I may add it to the 400*l.* which I mean should go entirely to your town expenses, and that you will likewise inform me what other debts you may have besides the mortgage on the house, that I may discharge them, and relieve you at once from the vexation and anxiety to which you have so long been exposed. My next letter must be to my mother.

Your affectionate Son,
THOMAS MUNRO.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Poolwenderah, 15th September, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE lately heard some reports that you are thinking of going home. I hope it is not true, both on the public account and my own; for I can never again expect such a patient hearing, and so much allowance for circumstances, as I have hitherto been accustomed to meet with. I lately made a circuit through Ballari Wajer, Caroor, and Gootty, to see whether they had suffered as much from the famine of 92 as they are reported to have done by the Curnum's accounts. There is no doubt some exaggeration; but not a great deal, if I may judge from what I saw. Most of the villages are in ruins—scarce one-fourth of the houses inhabited. That part of the country, and Adoni, suffered particularly; because they have scarce a single tank. The soil is black cotton ground, which does not retain water; yet the fertility of it drew great numbers of inhabitants to those districts; though many of the villages were, at all times, obliged to bring their water from the distance of two or three

miles. Though the whole of the Ceded Districts suffered more or less from famine, I have little doubt that, in seven years, the full amount of the schedule might be realized. I would not, however, venture to give this opinion publicly, because there are some obstacles to its accomplishment. The principal one is the public cry for money, which, by making me raise the rents now, instead of waiting a couple of years, may make it twelve or fourteen, instead of six or seven, before we reach the schedule. I am confident that the revenue may be brought to the schedule, or even beyond it, in the time I have mentioned; and were I half a dozen years younger, I would, in spite of the outcry* against me, raise it very little during the first two years, by which means I should make sure of effecting my point in the next four.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

The following letter refers to a circumstance which occurred in the portion of the Ceded Districts committed to Mr. Thackeray. It is a document of great public importance even now, inasmuch as it contains satisfactory proof, that a civil functionary in India is safer when travelling unattended, than if he be followed by a weak military escort.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Ponnamilah, 12th December, 1801.

DEAR COCKBURN,

SINCE writing you yesterday, I have received yours of the 3d, giving me the alarm about Thackeray.

* The allusion here is to the complaints of certain new members of the Revenue Board that he did not exact from the people, particularly in Canara, a sufficient amount of revenue.

I heard of it the 27th of last month, and instantly wrote the General to send a party, and I have offered a reward of one thousand rupees for the potail of Ternikull, by whose orders the murders were committed. Such outrages are frequent in the Ceded Districts, particularly in Gurrumcondah; but I do not write upon them, because it would only be troubling the Board to no purpose; and you would have heard nothing of the late affair, had Thackeray not happened to be upon the spot. Why did I suffer him, you say, to be without a guard? Because I think he is much safer without one. I traversed Canara in every direction unaccompanied by a single sepoy or military peon, at a time when it was in a much more distracted state than the Ceded Districts have ever been, without meeting, or even apprehending, any insult.

I do the same here:—there is not a single man along with me, nor had I one last year when I met all the Gurrumcondah poligars in congress, attended by their followers. I had deprived them of all their cowle; and they knew that I meant to reduce them to the level of potails, yet they never showed me the smallest disrespect. The natives of India, not excepting poligars, have, in general, a good deal of reverence for public authority. They suppose that collectors act only by orders from a superior power; and that, as they are not actuated by private motive, they ought not to become the objects of resentment. I therefore consider the subordinate collectors and myself as being perfectly safe without guards; and that by being without them, we get much sooner acquainted with the people. A naigue's or a havildar's guard might be a protection in the Carnatic; but it would be none here in the midst of an armed nation. Nothing under a company could give security, and even its protection might not always be effectual, and would probably, in the present state of the country, tend rather to create than to prevent outrages. However this may be, such a guard for every col-

lector cannot be spared from the military force now in the country. The murders in Adoni seem to have originated in private revenge. I directed Thackeray to add a certain sum to the last year's jumma, but to let the people know that it would not be finally settled till my arrival in the district. Under the Nizam's government, many heads of villages had gained considerably by the general desolation of the country, because they got credit for a great deal more than their actual loss by diminution of cultivation. It was necessary to raise the rent of these villages to a fair level with that of others in similar circumstances. The people who brought forward the information required for this purpose, are those who have been murdered. They were all natives of Adoni, and one of them was a gomashtah in the cutcherry. The village of Ternikull, like most others in the country, is fortified. The potail refused to agree to the increase proposed. The serishtadar, knowing that there would be no difficulty in settling with the inhabitants, if he were removed for a few days, ordered him off to Adoni; but, instead of obeying, he shut the gates, manned the walls, and murdered, in the cutcherry, the three men who had given in statements of the produce. These unfortunate people, when they saw the pikemen approaching to dispatch them, clung for safety about the serishtadar, which was the cause of his receiving some accidental wounds. Thackeray, who was encamped near the village, hastened to the gate, and on being refused admittance, attempted to get over the wall. The men above threatened, and called out to him to desist, saying that they had taken revenge of their enemies, but had no intention of opposing the sirkar; and he at length, very properly, withdrew to his tent. This is the account given me by a peon who attended him. Now, had he had the guard, about which you are so anxious, it would most likely have occasioned the murder of himself and of all his

cutcherry; had it been in the inside, it would have been easily overpowered by one hundred and fifty peons; and had it been at Thackeray's tent, it would have followed him to scale the wall, and brought on an affray, which would have ended in the destruction of them all. Nothing is more dangerous than a small guard in a turbulent country. The sepoys themselves are apt to be insolent, and to engage in disputes. Cutcherry people are, in general, too ready to employ them in overawing the inhabitants, and have very seldom sufficient sense to judge how far it is safe to go; and a collector will never meet with any injury, unless he attempts to employ force, which he will hardly think of when he has no sepoys. I am therefore against making use of guards of regulars. Thackeray has always had above a hundred military peons in his division. I shall give him three hundred more; and he can select an escort from them, who will be sufficient for his protection, if he does not try to scale forts. The conduct of the people of Ternikull, after the atrocious murders in the cutcherry, was certainly, with regard to him at least, extremely moderate, and affords a strong proof that he is personally in no danger. On the 22d November, two days after the affair at Ternikull, three potails and curnums were murdered by another potail of Adoni, for giving true statements to the sirkar servants. By looking at the map, you will see that Thackeray's division, lying at nearly equal distances from Gootty and Ballair, is better covered by a military force than any other part of the Ceded Districts. Yours very truly,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

I subjoin to this a letter of a somewhat earlier date, addressed to Mr. Thackeray himself. It relates to the same subject, and places, in a clear

light the coolness and sound judgment of the writer.

Cuddapah, 30th November, 1801.

DEAR THACKERAY,

I WROTE you yesterday in duplicate, and have since received your letter of the 24th. While I am at such a distance, and no certain communication by Tappaul, you should write directly to General Campbell whenever any disturbance happens, stating the particulars, the principal actors, and their force, as nearly as you can ascertain it. Notwithstanding the outrage at Ternikull, I have not the smallest doubt of our being able to reduce the country to complete subjection, with very little trouble. The poligars and bedars of Adoni, are but contemptible in comparison of those of Gurumcondah and Cuddapah, who are now, I think, in very good order. I should hope that no hostilities will be attempted again in the Pung Pollam; but every means must be exerted, by promising rewards, &c. to apprehend as many of the rebels as possible. They must be traced to Canaul, or wherever they fly to, and seized. When the detachment of troops approaches, furnish the commanding-officer with guides, and send him an intelligent carkoon, who is acquainted with the country and the inhabitants; and you ought also to go to the camp and give him whatever information you may have. Make your cutcherries resume their work as soon as possible, in the same manner as if nothing had happened; for if they show apprehensions where no violence has been actually committed, it will weaken their authority. It will also excite suspicion and alarm among the inhabitants, and perhaps induce many to put themselves on their guard, or even to resist, where no opposition was intended.

One hundred Asham peons will march from thence this evening and join you, and one hundred more will march

from Gomendah, about the 3d of December, which, with the hundred I wrote you yesterday to raise, will make you strong enough to prevent any violence being again offered to your cutcherry.

Shenewar Row seems to have been rather imprudent; but he failed on the right side in exerting his authority. Had there been thirty or forty peons with him at the cutcherry, it could not have happened.

TO MR. COCKBURN.

Anantpoor, 18th April, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I AM very much obliged to you for your friendly hints about official respect. Whatever appearances may have been, you may be certain that the military collectors never had an idea of any thing contrary to it. Holding their situations contrary to the ordinary rules of the service, and having been supported in them chiefly, if not altogether, by the Board of Revenue and the late Chief Secretary,* they must have been mad, had they intentionally failed in becoming deference to them.

I have always written in the same style both to the Governor and to the Board of Revenue, without ever suspecting that my disrespect had attracted their attention. I must confess, however, that the words at the close of a letter, "I have the honour, &c." were omitted by design; but I omitted them for the same reason that I once used them,—that I thought it was the fashion. I observed that they were falling into disuse in public correspondence in Europe, and I supposed that the same might have been the case in this country. Indeed, I was in some degree confirmed in this opinion last year by a government order

* Mr. Josias Webbe.

directing all officers, when writing to the Adjutant-General, to drop the usual complimentary expressions, and simply sign their name at the bottom of the letter. This is perhaps approaching too closely to French modes; but I imagined it was the will of Government, and could not believe that what they approved in the military they would censure in the civil department. Be this as it may, I find that I have been wrong; and I shall trust to your kindness to point out, hereafter, any expressions in my letters that may be deemed exceptionable.

I have to-day despatched to the Board a letter, with some long statements respecting poligars, which have cost me more trouble than I was aware of when I began; for scarcely a day has passed since I entered the ceded countries, that some part of my time has not been occupied by them.

One of my views, in drawing up the statement, was to show what the poligars really are;—that is to say, the nature of their titles to their pollams, and the probable force they would be able to muster in the event of rebellion. From the want of this kind of information, great mistakes are often committed in military operations; for officers going against poligars know commonly very little about their resources, or whether they can bring five hundred or five thousand men into the field. They are therefore rash in some instances; but in many more most absurdly cautious.

Yours truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cuddapah, 27th May, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

I HAVE now a charge of near fourteen lacs, nine and a half of which are under my own immediate management, with a set of amildars and curnums, hardened in

peculation by the looseness of the late Government, and with a swarm of poligars, almost equally troublesome, whether they remain in the country or desert it. This is surely enough for any one man. I have found it so serious a task, that having got both poligars and amildars into some little order, I was thinking of taking an hour or two from business, because I perceived that I could not go on at the same rate much longer. But the Board too, as well as Government, thinking that my time could not be occupied by such an employment, have desired me to give them a particular account in a diary, of the manner in which I spend it. I must apply to them next month to get a remission from this new duty. I cannot see what purpose it would answer here, except to hinder me from looking after more important matters. I have been told that it is common for the assistants to make it out; but no assistant could make out mine. I keep my assistants at home studying the languages. They never travel with me; and were they even constantly at my elbow, they would not understand what was going on, as all business is transacted in a barbarous mixture of Moors, Mahratta, and Gentoo. To explain to them, would take more time than to write it myself; and to write it myself is to leave part of my business undone, in order to write about the rest—for the day is scarcely long enough to get through what comes before me: and I am therefore obliged to relinquish a great deal of detail, into which I often wish to enter. My time has been spent so much in the same way during the last three years, that it is very easy to give an abstract of it. I have had no holidays since I left Seringapatam in 1799. I have had but two idle days; one that I rode over to see Sidout, and another that I went forty miles to see Cuppage at Mundidroog. I feel the effect that a long perseverance in such a course must always produce. I have no bad

health, but am perpetually jaded, and get through business much slower than I should do with more relaxation. I state these points in hopes that, if you take your seat at the Board, you will prevent any extra trouble from being thrown upon me. Yours very truly,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO THE SAME.

Cuddapah, 5th September, 1802.

DEAR COCKBURN,

WITH respect to your queries concerning the Ceded Districts, I can hardly answer them with much certainty, for revenue matters often deceive one's expectations. Were I young enough to remain eight or nine years, the term which in one of your public letters you calculated would be sufficient to restore the country, I would almost venture to promise to carry the settlement up to Tippoo's highest jumma, with the exception of Gooty and Ballari, and the Nizam's old province, Adoni; but as my stay must be much shorter, I must limit my views to a more moderate revenue. Were I sure that every succeeding Board of Revenue and Government would support the slow and gradual increase of assessment which has already been recommended, I would undoubtedly adhere to it; but it is not likely that I shall be permitted. The desire that men at the head of affairs usually have of seeing the country, or at least the public income, flourishing under their auspices, will most probably compel me to proceed too rapidly, and bring the revenue to a stand four or five lacs below the point to which it ought to have reached. If I am even left entirely to my own judgment, it is possible enough that I may not have sufficient resolution to follow the wisest course. I may get nervous as I grow older, and become afraid of censure. If I leave room for my successor to raise the revenue, it would be said that I allowed the in-

habitants to defraud Government. If I raise all that the country can pay, and he could raise no more, it would be said that I had oppressed the people for the sake of exhibiting a high settlement. However this may be, I have no thoughts at present of precipitating matters, though I shall, for the sake of assisting the public want of money, press the rayets rather more than I ought to do.

The following, addressed to Lieut.-General Stuart, Commander-in-chief, at Madras, contains an abstract of Colonel Munro's opinions as to the most effective method of preserving order in his district. It is given as a specimen of the accuracy with which he was accustomed to calculate all points, whether they related to civil or military administration.

Tippoo Samooder, 11th November, 1802.

DEAR SIR,

As I am convinced that the present state of this country, and the prospect it may have of future tranquillity, cannot be objects of indifference to you, I shall take the liberty of offering a few observations upon them. General Campbell lately communicated to me a letter from the Chief Secretary, relative to the expediency of detaching troops from hence to the Raichoor province, upon a requisition from Hyderabad. I gave my opinion in favour of the measure, not only because we are bound by treaty to comply with such requisitions, but because it will tend to confirm the quiet of the Ceded Countries, for the numerous petty zemindars on the north bank of the Toombuddra, who give shelter to all fugitive poligars from this side, and who likewise frequently send parties of banditti across the river to plunder, will be deterred from

pursuing such practices, when they see that they are exposed to an attack from a force so much nearer than that at Hyderabad.

It likewise occurred to me, that if the reduction of the Raichoor insurgents were successfully executed, of which there can be little doubt, it would be a strong motive for inducing the Nizam to consent that the part of the subsidiary forces still in the Company's territory, which he might otherwise insist on being ordered to Hyderabad, may be stationed at Ballari. The districts usually called the Doab, lying between the Kistna and Toombuddra, are the part of the Nizam's dominions over which he has perhaps the least control. Their great distance from Hyderabad, and the reluctance which has been generally shown to detaching any considerable part of the force stationed at that capital, have long since taught the zemindars to regard it without much apprehension; but a part of the subsidiary troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Ballari or Adoni, and ready to move at a moment's warning, would completely overawe them. This detachment would, at the same time, be of great service in curbing the poligars of the Ceded Districts, until, by being kept during a few years as low as they now are, they shall have lost the power of exciting disturbances; and it would be at hand, likewise, to act against the Nabob of Canore, in the event of, what is not altogether improbable, his failing in the payment of his tribute to the Company, which has now been transferred from the Nizam to himself.

There are still two poligars in the Ceded Country, who have not yet come in; but only one of them, the Ghuttim-man, can make any resistance: his country is strong, and he has himself been long habituated to a predatory warfare. I overlooked the refractory conduct of both these men last year, because it appeared imprudent to engage in fresh operations immediately after the dis-

turbances in Cumbum and at Tetnikull. There will be no difficulty in expelling them, should they persist in their disobedience; but I shall not call upon General Campbell until the Raichoor campaign is over. It may then perhaps be necessary to proceed also against the Zemindar of Panganoor, because I am not sure that he will submit to an addition to his peshcush, which must be laid on in order to reduce his power. Should it so happen, that an attack upon all these three chiefs becomes indispensable, their reduction will be easy, and will be effected with little or no loss; and the Ceded Districts may then be considered as completely subdued.

I have always thought that such matters ought to be agitated as little as possible, until the instant of execution arrives; but the Revenue Board having objected to the expenses of an establishment of matchlock and pike peons, which I raised originally by order of Government, to supply the deficiency of regular troops, I have been forced to explain to them the service for which they will probably be required in the course of a few months, with a view to persuade them, if possible, to suspend any reductions until June or July next, and to let it then be made gradually.

Though when poligars are in considerable force, and in possession of strongholds, regulars must always be employed; yet when they are once driven to the jungles, peons are better calculated for pursuing them, and discovering, and seizing the principal leaders; and unless this is done, there is always a danger of their rallying again. Peons too are much better qualified than regulars to discover and prevent any projected insurrection. Officers commanding corps or detachments have few or no means of finding out the designs of the poligars in their neighbourhood; and a rising may happen almost before it is even suspected, which may afterwards, before it can be finally

quelled, occasion a heavy loss of men and money. When peons, natives of the country, are stationed in small parties in every considerable poligar village, they can easily perceive what number of armed followers the poligar has,—whether they are chiefly idle men, who depend entirely upon him, or men who follow agriculture or other occupations, and whether or not there is any design of drawing them together to raise commotions. When they have any reason to suspect such intentions, they send intelligence, and a sufficient party is dispatched to seize the ringleaders, before they have time to collect followers. Regular troops could not be dispersed in this manner without ruining their discipline, and, what is worse, without exposing them to the risk of being sometimes cut off, which has always the mischievous effect of encouraging the poligars.

There are now above three thousand peons dispersed over the Ceded Districts, for the purpose of preventing the return of the fugitive poligars and their followers, of watching the conduct of the poligars who still remain in the country, and of dispersing all assemblages of armed men. Their whole expense is fifty thousand pagodas, which is far below that of a battalion of sepoys, if we reckon arms, clothing, &c.; and though they would not be able to keep their ground, unless there were troops to support them, yet as such aid is ready when required, they are more useful than any additional battalion of sepoys could be; and were the option left to me, I would prefer the peons. Were they reduced at once, I should be deprived of almost every means of knowing what the poligars are doing. Those who have been expelled would collect parties of two or three hundred, and return through Panuel to plunder; and in Gurrumcondah, a great part of which province is a collection of poligarships, they would set the amildars at defiance, and pay very little rent, unless compelled by mi-

litary force. The calling out of detachments, which would then be continually required, would occasion almost as great an expense as the peons, and would not answer so effectually the important end of preserving the peace of the country.

Had there been a small garrison of peons in Ternikull, as there always was when it belonged to the Nizam, the disagreeable occurrences there never would have happened. It is certainly better to prevent such outrages, than to be obliged to punish them. I have recommended to the Board of Revenue, that the peons should remain as at present till July next,—that one-fourth should then be reduced,—that one-fourth should be reduced each of the two succeeding years, but that the one-fourth then left should be kept up for some years longer. I must confess, however, that I would wish that one-third, instead of one-fourth, should be kept up until all danger of poligar disturbances was at an end. The expense would be sixteen or seventeen thousand pagodas a-year, which is trifling when compared to the advantages of securing internal quiet. My object is to establish every where the authority of Government completely, and not to leave a set of turbulent chiefs in a condition to oppose it whenever they see an opportunity; and if what I have suggested is adopted, there will never be any poligar wars in the Ceded Districts.

I have taken the liberty of submitting this subject to your consideration, because, when it is referred by the Board of Revenue to Government, the question of the expediency of employing the peons, will no doubt be determined by your opinion. I am, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

General Stuart's answer is as follows:

DEAR SIR,

I AM favoured with your letter, dated the 11th instant. The state of the countries composing the Ceded Districts, and their future tranquillity, are objects which certainly cannot prove indifferent to me; and I am very much obliged to you for your observations upon them. I shall, when the question comes before Government, object to your disbanding any part of your peons. The present is undoubtedly the most improper time that such a measure could be proposed, when we may expect a great part of the regular troops to be called upon for other, and most probably, distant service. I am entirely of your opinion, that when poligars are in force, and in possession of strongholds, regular troops are necessary for the purpose of dislodging them. But when they are dislodged, and driven to the jungle in a dispersed state, peons are far preferable to the regulars, for every purpose of discovering and apprehending them: they are likewise preferable to the regulars for the other purposes you mention. For these reasons, though it may probably be practicable, at a proper time, to reduce a part of them, I shall, upon all occasions, oppose their entire reduction.

I have had some conversation with Mr. Webbe upon this and other subjects regarding you; and we entirely agree in opinion respecting the propriety of your system and reasoning.

I am in haste, but with great esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your very sincere and faithful humble servant,

J. STUART.

Head-quarters, Choultry Plain,
22d November, 1802.

In the mean while, the rupture which had long threatened with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, occurred; and Generals Lake and Wellesley, at the head of their respective armies, took the field. With the former of these officers, Colonel Munro was not drawn into communication; but with the latter he kept up, throughout the entire campaign, an intimate correspondence. As may be imagined, the larger portion of the letters which passed between them, are at once too brief, and partake too much of an official character, to possess much interest in the eyes of ordinary readers; yet there are some which well deserve a place in this or any other collection; and the following appear to me to be of the number.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE ARTHUR WELLESLEY, TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MUNRO.

Camp at Hatteer, fifty miles N.N.E.
from Meritch, April 8th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

As it is possible that the service on which I am employed may last after the rivers will fill, it is necessary that I should make arrangements for having boats upon all of them. I have accordingly written to Pourneah, and to Mr. Read, to have some prepared in Mysore and in Soondah: and I must request you to have twenty basket-boats made in the Ceded Districts. They should be of the size of ten feet diameter, and three feet deep, and I wish that they may be covered with double leather. The leathers ought to be sewed with thong, and of such a size as to cover the gunnels of the boats all round. I intend that your boats should be upon the Malpurba, respecting which

I will write to you hereafter. Besides boats, I shall want boatmen, of which your districts ought to furnish a large proportion. Pourneah says, that when he managed Harponelley, that district, in particular, furnished a large number of people of this description. The total number that I shall want is three hundred, of which Soondah can give only twenty; Mysore, I suppose, about one hundred; and I must depend upon you for the remainder.

The pay which I have given the boatmen is one gold fanam for every day they do not work, and two gold fanams for every day they do; this money paid daily if they choose it. Let me know how many people of this description you can send me for this pay. You will see, by the date of this letter, that I have lost no time, and I am still in high style. I am now moving towards the Nizam's frontier to facilitate a communication with Colonel Stevenson, and, eventually, our junction. As I advance, Futty Sing and Meer Khan fall back, and I meet with no opposition. I expect to be at Poonah some time about the 20th.

Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp at Poonah, May 14th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I LEARN from General Stuart, that he has desired you to supply me with twenty boats for the Malpurba, and some boatmen.

You know that the rivers will fill between the 14th and 20th of June; and I beg you take early measures for providing this mode of passing them.

As you are too far from me, and it is possible that you may not be able to send off the boats at a period sufficiently early for my purpose, I have directed that ten of the boats made in Soondah, which were intended for the river

Gulpurba, may be left on the river Malpurba. Ten of your boats consequently are to be sent to the river Gulpurba, about thirty miles farther on. I beg you to give orders upon this subject to the people you will send with the boats. Their station upon the river Malpurba will be at Langoly; that upon the river Gulpurba, will be at Gourgerry. The boatmen whom you will send, will be divided equally between the stations, on the river Malpurba, Gulpurba, and Kistna. Their pay is to be one gold fanam for every day they do not work, and two gold fanams for every day they do: it is to commence from the day they will leave their villages, and to be paid weekly. I will settle with you for it, to the day of their arrival at their posts, as well as for the expense of the carriage of the boats. Afterwards, it will be paid by the officer in charge of the posts.

Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

The Peishwah arrived yesterday, and is going to be seated on his musnud.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, twenty miles east of Arungabad,
August 30th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

SCINDIAH and the Rajah of Berar have entered the Nizam's territories, have passed Colonel Stevenson with an army of horse only, and propose to be upon the River Godavery this day. If the river should be fordable, they may be able to get to the southward; and I give you notice, that you may have your tannahs prepared in your villages, and desire them to defend them. They are starving already: flour and grain sell two and a half seers for a rupee in their camp; because the inhabitants, finding that they have no guns, and that the horse cannot get over their walls, do not choose to give up their property upon

the first requisition, and they have not leisure to wait long in any particular place.

I have received intelligence, that a fellow, by name Mahtab Khan, who was formerly in Tippoo's service, is employed by the Rajah of Berar to raise horse at Cuddapah. You may probably find this fellow out; and I recommend that he be treated as he deserves.

I beg you to keep the Werdy bullocks in the service: I will write to General Campbell regarding them.

If I should not have been so unlucky as to have the Godavery become fordable about six weeks sooner than usual, I hope to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days.

Believe me, my dear Munro, ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, September 10th, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I HAVE received your letter of the 28th of August. I have arranged the conquest at Ahmednagur, exactly as you have suggested: I have appointed Captain Graham to be collector, and have given him a large body of peons and of horse to forward supplies and preserve tranquillity in my rear.

I should have wished to have you in that situation, but you were not on the spot; and it is not impossible but that your services will be required in your own districts; I have already put you on your guard.

Since I wrote to you last, I have given the enemy a turn. By a few rapid marches to the southward, I have shown them that they could not go alone to Hyderabad, and I have consequently forced them to return to the northward.

I don't know whether they will come back again; but it

is reported that they are going back to Burhampore; that the silladars are much discontented, and swear that they will not serve unless supported by the infantry and guns.

It cannot be expected, however, that I shall be able to march with celerity equal to that of an army of horse only; and some of these may enter your districts. But, on the other hand, it is probable that I may stop them.

The Bengal army has commenced offensive operations, and will cross the Jumna. The troops in Guzerat took Baroach by storm on the 29th of August. Colonel Stevenson beat up a horse-camp on the night of the 6th; and he tells me that he proposed to repeat the attack upon another on last night; I have not yet heard whether he did so or not. No enemy has elsewhere come within forty miles of him. Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, October 1st, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

I INCLOSE a memorandum which I have received from Bistnapah Pundit, the commander of the Rajah of Mysore's horse serving with me, relative to a claim which he has upon the Rajah of Harponhilly. It appears that the Rajah gave him a village in enaum, which he has now taken from him. Mr. Cochrane knew that the grant had been made, and confirmed it; and I shall be obliged to you if you will inquire into the circumstances, and let Bistnapah keep his village if possible. I entirely agree in the opinions expressed in your letter, upon the subject of offensive and defensive war; however, I think that you are mistaken respecting the possibility of checking, by defensive measures, a predatory war carried on by horse only; indeed, I have done it already in this campaign.

The fact is, that a predatory war is not to be carried on now, as it was formerly. All the principal villages in the country are fortified (excepting in our happy country, in which our wise men have found out that fortifications are of no use); a few peons keep the horse out; and it is consequently necessary that they should have a camp and a bazaar to resort to for subsistence, in which every thing they get is very dear; besides, this necessity of seeking subsistence in the camp prevents them from extending their excursions so far as they ought, to do any material injury.

The camp, on the resources of which an army of this kind must submit, must be rather heavy; besides, there are great bodies in it. They must have tents, elephants, and other sewary; and must have with them a sufficient body of troops to guard their persons. The number of cavalry retained in such a camp must consequently be very large.

Large bodies move slowly, and it is not difficult to gain intelligence of their motions. A few rapid and well contrived movements, made not directly upon them, but with a view to prevent the execution of any favourite design, or its mischievous consequences, soon bring them to their bearings; they stop, look about them, begin to feel restless, and are obliged to go off.

In this manner I lately stopped the march of the enemy upon Hyderabad, which they certainly intended; they were obliged to return, and bring up and join their infantry; and you will have heard, that in a most furious action which I had with their whole army, with one division only, on the 23d of September, I completely defeated them, taking about one hundred pieces of cannon, all their ammunition, &c. &c. &c. They have fled in the greatest confusion to Burhampore. Take my word for it, that a body of light troops will not act, unless supported by a

heavy body that will fight; and, what is more, they cannot act, because they cannot subsist in the greater part of India at the present day.

It is reported that General Lake has defeated Perron. After that, he will of course open a communication with the Raajpoot chiefs, and will move into Berar. I have designs upon that quarter also. The only difficulty I feel now, is the entire want of magazines in the Rajah's territories; but I shall surmount that difficulty.

I wish that I could have you with me; but I see no mode of effecting that object.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

We have taken Pawagur, a strong hill-fort belonging to Scindiah, in Guzerat.

The following is General Wellesley's reply to a letter in which Mr. Munro had questioned the wisdom of certain movements preceding the battle of Assye.

Camp at Cherikain, November 1st, 1803.

MY DEAR MUNRO,

AS you are a judge of a military operation, and as I am desirous of having your opinion on my side, I am about to give you an account of the battle at Assye, in answer to your letter of the 19th October; in which I think I shall solve all the doubts which must naturally occur to any man who looks at that transaction without a sufficient knowledge of the facts. Before you will receive this, you will most probably have seen my public letter to the Governor-General regarding the action, a copy of which was sent to General Campbell. That letter will give you a general outline of the facts. Your principal objection to the action is, that I detached Colonel Stevenson. The

fact is, I did not detach Colonel Stevenson. His was a separate corps equally strong, if not stronger than mine. We were desirous to engage the enemy at the same time, and settled a plan accordingly for an attack on the morning of the 24th. We separated on the 22d; he to march by the western, I by the eastern road, round the hills between Budnapore and Jalna; and I have to observe, that this separation was necessary,—first, because both corps could not pass through the same defiles in one day; secondly, because it was to be apprehended, that if we left open one of the roads through those hills, the enemy might have passed to the southward while we were going to the northward, and then the action would have been delayed, or probably avoided altogether. Colonel Stevenson and I were never more than twelve miles distant from each other; and when I moved forward to the action of the 23d, we were not much more than eight miles. As usual, we depended for our intelligence of the enemy's position on the common hircarrahs of the country. Their horse were so numerous, that without an army their position could not be reconnoitred by an European officer; and even the hircarrahs in our own service, who were accustomed to examine and report on positions, cannot be employed here, as, being natives of the Carnatic, they are as well known as an European.

The hircarrahs reported the enemy to be at Bokerdun. Their right was at Bokerdun, which was the principal place in their position, and gave the name to the district in which they were encamped; but their left, in which was their infantry, which I was to attack, was at Assye, which was six or eight miles from Bokerdun.

I directed my march so as to be within twelve or fourteen miles of their army at Bokerdun, as I thought, on the 23d. But when I arrived at the ground of encampment, I found that I was not more than five or six miles from it.

I was then informed that the cavalry had marched, and the infantry was about to follow, but was still on the ground; at all events, it was necessary to ascertain these points; and I could not venture to reconnoitre without my whole force. But I believed the report to be true, and I determined to attack the infantry if it remained still upon the ground. I apprized Colonel Stevenson of this determination, and desired him to move forward. Upon marching on I found not only their infantry, but their cavalry encamped in a most formidable position, which, by the by, it could have been impossible for me to attack, if, when the infantry changed their front, they had taken care to occupy the only passage there was across the Kaitna.

When I found their whole army, and contemplated their position, of course I considered whether I should attack immediately, or should delay till the following morning. I determined upon the immediate attack, because I saw clearly that if I attempted to return to my camp at Naulniah, I should have been followed thither by the whole of the enemy's cavalry, and I might have suffered some loss: instead of attacking, I might have been attacked there in the morning; and, at all events, I should have found it very difficult to secure my baggage, as I did, in any place so near the enemy's camp, in which they should know it was; I therefore determined upon the attack immediately.

It was certainly a most desperate one; but our guns were not silenced. Our bullocks, and the people who were employed to draw them, were shot, and they could not all be drawn on; but some were; and all continued to fire as long as the fire could be of any use.

Desperate as the action was, our loss would not have exceeded one-half of its present amount, if it had not been for a mistake in the officer who led the picquets which were on the right of the first line.

When the enemy changed their position, they threw their left to Assye, in which village they had some infantry; and it was surrounded by cannon. As soon as I saw that, I directed the officer commanding the picquets to keep out of shot from that village; instead of that, he led directly upon it; the 79th, which were on the right of the first line, followed the picquets, and the great loss we sustained was in these two bodies. Another evil which resulted from this mistake was the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the cannonade and the action, long before it was time, by which that corps lost many men, and its unity and efficiency, which I intended to bring forward in a close pursuit at the heel of the day. But it was necessary to bring forward the cavalry to save the remains of the 79th and the picquets, which would otherwise have been entirely destroyed. Another evil resulting from it was, that we had then no reserve left, and a parcel of straggling horse cut up our wounded; and straggling infantry who had pretended to be dead, turned their guns upon our backs.

After all, notwithstanding this attack upon Assye by our right and the cavalry, no impression was made upon the corps collected there, till I made a movement upon it with some troops taken from our left, after the enemy's right had been defeated; and it would have been as well to have left it alone entirely till that movement was made. However, I do not wish to cast any reflection upon the officer who led the picquets. I lament the consequences of his mistake; but I must acknowledge that it was not possible for a man to lead a body into a hotter fire than he did the picquets on that day against Assye.

After the action there was no pursuit, because our cavalry was not then in a state to pursue. It was near dark when the action was over; and we passed the night on the field of battle.

Colonel Stevenson marched with part of his corps as soon as he heard that I was about to move forward, and he also moved upon Bokerdun. He did not receive my letter till evening. He got entangled in a nullah in the night, and arrived at Bokerdun, about eight miles from me to the westward, at eight in the morning of the 24th.

The enemy passed the night of the 23d at about twelve miles from the field of battle, twelve from the Adjuntee Ghaut, and eight from Bokerdun. As soon as they heard that Colonel Stevenson was advancing to the latter place, they set off, and never stopped till they had got down the Ghaut, where they arrived in the course of the night of the 24th. After his difficulties of the night of the 23d, Colonel Stevenson was in no state to follow them, and did not do so till the 26th. The reason for which he was detained till that day was, that I might have the benefit of the assistance of his surgeons to dress my wounded soldiers, many of whom, after all, were not dressed for nearly a week, for want of the necessary number of medical men. I had also a long and difficult negotiation with the Nizam's sirdars, to induce them to admit my wounded into any of the Nizam's forts; and I could not allow them to depart until I had settled that point. Besides, I knew that the enemy had passed the Ghaut, and that to pursue them a day sooner or a day later could make no difference. Since the battle Stevenson has taken Barhumpoor and Asseergur. I have defended the Nizam's territories. They first threatened them through the Caperbay Ghaut, and I moved to the southward, to the neighbourhood of Arungabad. I then saw clearly that they intended to attempt the siege of Asseergur, and I moved up to the northward, and descended the Adjuntee Ghaut, and stopped Scindiah. Stevenson took Asseergur on the 21st. I heard the intelligence on the 24th, and that the Rajah of Berar had come to the south with an army. I ascended the Ghaut on the 25th, and

have marched a hundred and twenty miles since in eight days, by which I have saved all our convoys, and the Nizam's territories. I have been near the Rajah of Berar two days, in the course of which he has marched five times; and I suspect that he is now off to his own country, finding that he can do nothing in this. If that is the case, I shall soon begin an offensive operation there.

But these exertions, I fear, cannot last; and yet, if they are relaxed, such is the total absence of all government and means of defence in this country, that it must fall. It makes me sick to have any thing to do with them; and it is impossible to describe their state. Pray exert yourself for Bistnapah Pundit, and believe me ever yours most sincerely,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

FROM MAJOR MUNRO.

[To a friend on his marriage.]

Guddacull, 17th March, 1803.

——— whom I left yesterday morning, has to-day pushed after me your letter of the 10th. I long ago heard from him that you were among the stricken deer, which fully accounted for your long silence. The only thing that surprises me is, that you should so soon have begun to think of your old friends, and of the common affairs of the world. You have certainly got the start of me in making your permanent settlement, though I would not have suspected it, from the outrageous manner in which you always talked of matrimony. I really believe that your arguments against it have contributed greatly to keep me single, by always putting me upon my guard, whenever I spied the enemy blushing in a female form. My happiness, I am afraid, must still be deferred for a few years, and most likely to the period when I shall prefer

the comforts of a nurse, to the charms of a wife; when I shall be so sun-dried, and so cased in flannel armour, that no dartshot from any eye black or blue, shall ever reach my heart. What a life have I led! I have wasted the best of my days without the joys of love, and without the endearments of domestic bliss. I can easily see from your letter, that Mrs. —— is a beautiful girl; and from what you call the short work that you made, or rather that she made with you, that she is an enchanting woman; but all the fascinations of form and manner soon lose their power, unless the man is held by superior attractions. If a woman has not a disposition somewhat similar to that of her husband,—if she has not those endowments which can render her an amiable and intelligent companion, he will soon regard her with indifference. Mrs. —— is so young, and fortunately so far from scenes of dissipation, that you may direct her mind to any pursuits you please; and you may give her a taste for reading, which, besides being a perpetual fund of innocent amusement to herself, will make her society more interesting to you and to your friends.

Yours ever,

THOMAS MUNRO.

The following remarks upon the campaigns of Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley, will not, it is presumed, be read without interest.

TO HIS BROTHER.

Rachatti, 12th February, 1804.

DEAR ALEXANDER,

YOUR letter of the 2d January reached me some time ago. The war is now over. The treaty with Scindiah has not yet been published here; but I suppose we shall soon have it from Bengal. Delhi and Agra are said to be among the cessions. We are now complete masters

of India, and nothing can shake our power, if we take proper measures to confirm it. The most essential one is a military arrangement for the whole of our possessions. Our armies ought to be so much increased as to enable us, if necessary, to carry on a war against a confederacy of the native powers with France, and, at the same time, to retain our own feudatories in subjection. The revenues of our new acquisitions, and the increase of revenue in our old dominions, during a state of tranquillity, ensured by the protection of a powerful army, would more than counterbalance all the additional expense of the military establishment.

You are quite an enthusiast with respect to General Lake. General Wellesley had, however, greater difficulties to encounter, a greater body of infantry and artillery, a much more formidable cavalry, and all animated by the presence of their sovereign; not dispirited by the desertion of their officers, like the northern army. If there was any thing wrong at Assye, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action, every thing was right. General Wellesley gave every part of his army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment that it was most necessary.

I allow them both great credit; but, after all, I see nothing very extraordinary in the success of the war. I never doubted that the result would be what it has been. I calculated, at the opening of the campaign, two years for the complete conquest of all the possessions of Scindia and the Berarman. I thought their cavalry would have shown a little more enterprise; but they ruined it and destroyed its spirit, by teaching the troopers that they did not depend upon cavalry, but upon infantry. By coming forward with regular infantry, they gave us every advantage we could desire. They opposed to us men that never could

be made so good as our own, from the want of a national spirit among the officers, and of the support of European battalions; and they trusted the success of the war to the event of close engagements. More credit has been given to the firmness of their infantry than it deserved. They seem to have made but little opposition, except during the short time our army was forming, and to have relied more upon their artillery than their musketry, as is fully proved, by our horse having suffered little loss, unless by round and grape-shot. Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS MOTHER.

[Describing the Country, &c.]

Anantpoor, 20th August, 1804.

DEAR MADAM,

IT gives me great pleasure to hear that your health is better than it has been for some years past; and that you are able to enjoy the pleasure of walking; and that you sometimes go as far as Edinburgh. If you are as fond of gardens as in former times, it must be a great comfort to you to have one so near the house. I would give a great deal to have here such a garden as that at Leven Lodge; but, instead of the shady groves in which it is supposed that we Indians pass our lives, there is hardly a tree between this place and Poonah. I am endeavouring to convert about an acre of ground into a garden, but find it very difficult to get either seed or plants. All that I have in it are fourteen fig-trees, about ten or twelve inches high, which survived out of a great number of plants brought from a small garden at Cuddapah, above a hundred miles distant. I have also a few vines, for they are hardy, and thrive every where. I prefer the fig and the

vine to most other fruit-trees, because they bear in ten or fifteen months; most other fruit-trees, in this country, do not bear in less than eight or ten years. I have sown the seeds of the mangoe, the orange, and several others; but I do not mean to stay in this country to see them in blossom. I have no river at my garden's end, but a deep well, from which I draw water with the assistance of a wheel and four bullocks. It is only in the great rivers in India that running water is seen throughout the year; such streams as Kelvin, or even Clyde, and all others downwards, only flow after a fall of rain, and all the rest of the year present nothing to the eye but a bed of dry sand. In this part of India, we have none of the verdant fields that are every where seen in Britain. The waste lands are always brown and naked, with hardly a blade of grass: the corn-fields, after the crop is cut, soon become perfectly bare, and nothing is to be seen but an immense plain of red or black earth, until the grain rises again the following year. In our kitchen-gardens, carrots and onions are better than they are in Europe. My green peas just now are about four inches high, and I despair of ever seeing them reach to five; but this is owing, I believe, to my bad gardening, for many people have them as luxuriantly as in Scotland. My garden is altogether such a miserable place, that I am almost ashamed to go into it, and usually avoid it in my walks: it is however of no great consequence how it is, as I am always absent eight or nine months in the year, and would not have leisure to enjoy its beauties, were it the finest in the world.

My father tells me, that John has been *dux* of his class for some days: I would rather hear that he was a favourite among his companions, and their *dux* when out of school.

Your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS SISTER.

Anantpoor, 22d July, 1805.

DEAR ERSKINE,

YOU are now, I believe, for the first time, a letter or two in my debt: nothing from you has reached me of a later date than the 16th of May, 1804. This correspondence between India and Scotland, between persons who have not seen each other for near thirty years, and who may never meet again, is something like letters from the dead to the living. We are both so changed from what we were, that when I think of home, and take up one of your letters, I almost fancy myself listening to a being of another world. No moral or religious book, not even the Gospel itself, ever calls my attention so powerfully to the shortness of life, as does in some solitary hour the recollection of my friends, and of the long course of days and years that have passed away since I saw them. These ideas occur oftener in proportion as my stay in this country is prolonged; and as the period of my departure from it seems to approach, I look with pleasure to home; but I shall leave India with regret, for I am not satisfied with the subordinate line in which I have moved, and with my having been kept from holding any distinguished military command by the want of rank. I shall never, I fear, be able to sit down quietly to enjoy private life; and I shall most likely return to this country in quest of what I may never obtain.

My resolution of going home has been strengthened by having this year discovered that my sight is not so good as it was. I find that when writing I must go to the door of my tent for the benefit of light when I wish to mend my pen. I endeavour to believe that this is entirely owing to my having lived so many years in tents under a burning

sun. The sun has probably not shone in vain; but I suspect that time has also had a share in whitening my hair and dimming my sight. His hand appears now before my eyes only thin and shadowy, like that of one of Ossian's ghosts, but it will grow thick and dark in a few years, and I must therefore return to my native land, and see my friends before it is too late." Alexander will go home in December, if peace is made before that time with the Mahrattas.

I hope you have been successful in your memorial about Captain Douglas's property. I should not have been sanguine myself had you not mentioned the able counsel by whom you have been advised.

Your description of Drummond's seat in the north makes me wish myself there for a few weeks. If I could be sure of living fifty years without growing older, I should like to pass ten or twelve of them in such a place. Its game would not recommend it to me, for I am no sportsman, and would not disturb them; but I should admire its hills and deep glens and mountain-cascades, if it has any. I should hardly agree to your plan of employing your great landscape painter, Nasmyth, in laying out the ground. All that I have seen of his works is in Hector Macneil's Poems. He is too fond of peopling his landscapes with fine gentlemen. In his view of Cambuskenneth, he has filled up half the picture with an overgrown Bond-street lounger. It is just such a figure as might have been expected from a tailor who had studied painting, and been accustomed to exclaim occasionally, after taking a measure of a full suit, "and I too am a painter." Were I to get possession of Woodstock, when Drummond had killed all the game, and become tired of it, Nasmyth would no doubt, for the honour of Scottish landscapes, think it necessary to exhibit me in the same high-finished style lounging under a tree, and musing most deeply on the loss

of my hat. But I would submit to this to see the place and its present inhabitants.

Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS MOTHER.

Raydroog, 23rd October, 1805.

DEAR MADAM,

YOU will have no cause to accuse me of silence if the last ships reach England without accident; for I believe that I have written three letters to you within these three months. You will see by them that your alarms about my health are groundless, and that I am as well as ever I was at home. My only Indian complaint, as I mentioned in one of these letters, is a slight pain, which I sometimes feel in my back, occasioned by a fall in leaping over a ditch, about twelve or fourteen years ago. You will however think very little of it, when you know that it has never, for a single day, prevented me from riding or taking a morning's walk of about four miles, which I do every day at sunrise, if I do not ride. I feel it most after sitting long in one position. And I am convinced that my father's lumbago at Northside gave him more trouble in a week than mine has given me in twelve years. A much more serious complaint is the deafness which I brought from home, and which is older than my remembrance. The temporary fits which I used to have at home of extemporary deafness are much less frequent in this country; but I am more impatient under them, because a society of grown-up gentlemen are not so easily prevailed upon as my schoolfellows were, to raise their voices for my convenience. I have now given you the history of all my ailings, and I imagine they are as few as fall to the lot of most men of my age, even in Scotland.

I have been induced by your letter of the 8th of March, the longest I ever received from you, to repeat all that I wrote in a late letter on the state of my health; and I mean also to follow your advice of writing oftener, though I should send but a few lines at a time. With respect to going home, it is my intention to leave India next year; but I have many doubts about adopting your plan of seeking a family of my own. I saw myself some obstacles to it; but you have raised up many more by your alarming account of the manners of modern ladies. As you exclude youth, and beauty, and family, from the qualifications of a wife, I suspect that you mean that I should lead to the altar the widow ———, or some ancient lady, who has composed a treatise on the education of young women. Had I passed all my life at home, I might perhaps, as my sisters say, have been the fittest person to choose a wife for myself. I might have been acquainted with her from her early years, known perfectly her temper and disposition, and been in little danger of being deceived on these points; but after an absence of near thirty years, spent chiefly in a tent, I shall on my return know as little of the women of my own country as those of any other nation in Europe. And as I shall not have so many opportunities, as younger men, of mixing in female society, I should, if I trusted entirely to my own judgment in the choice of a wife, find most likely, when it was too late, that I had made a bad one. I am therefore inclined to think that it will be the wisest course to be guided by your opinion in this important matter.

I am very sorry that you have been obliged to abandon Leven Lodge on account of its distance; because you will, I am afraid, find the want of the garden. Your new house has the advantage of being nearer Mrs. Erskine; but from its situation at the corner of two streets, it must be a very

noisy place, and can have very little ground. You say that it has more than we had in Glasgow. This may well be, for we had none there.

Your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

It will be in the reader's recollection that the year 1806 was rendered memorable in the annals of Anglo-Indian history, by the diffusion of a spirit of disloyalty throughout the native army, such as had never before shown itself. Certain injudicious orders on the subject of dress appearing at a moment when Missionary exertions chanced to be unusually great, furnished a handle, of which the disaffected adherents of the house of Tippoo failed not to take advantage; and both the Mussulman and Hindoo sepoys being taught to believe that a design for their forcible conversion to Christianity was in agitation, a tremendous conspiracy, having for its object the massacre of all the Europeans in the country, was the consequence. Neither of the conspiracy itself, nor of the mutiny at Vellore, to which it led, am I called upon to give any account; but the following letters will show how the chief authorities at Madras were affected by it, as well as the opinions which Colonel Munro continued, in spite of appearances, to cherish. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the office of Governor was at that time filled by Lord William Bentinck.

(Private and confidential.)

FROM LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK TO LIEUT.-COLONEL MUNRO.

Fort St. George, August 2d, 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,

WE have every reason to believe, indeed undoubtedly to know, that the emissaries and adherents of the sons of Tippoo Sultan have been most active below the Ghauts, and it is said that the same intrigues have been carrying on above the Ghauts. Great reliance is said to have been placed upon the Gurrumcondah poligars, by the princes. I recommend you to use the utmost vigilance and precaution; and you are hereby authorized, upon any symptom or appearance of insurrection, to take such measures as you may deem necessary. Let me advise you not to place too much dependence on any of the native troops. It is impossible at this moment to say how far both native infantry and cavalry may stand by us in case of need. It has been ingeniously worked up into a question of religion. The minds of the soldiery have been inflamed to the highest state of discontent and disaffection, and upon this feeling has been built the re-establishment of the Mussulman government, under one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan. It is hardly credible that such progress could have been made in so short a time, and without the knowledge of any of us. But, believe me, the conspiracy has extended beyond all belief, and has reached the most remote parts of our army; and the intrigue has appeared to have been every where most successfully carried on. The capture of Vellore, and other decided measures in contemplation, accompanied by extreme vigilance on all parts, will, I trust, still prevent a great explosion. I remain, my dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. BENTINCK.

Subjoined is Colonel Munro's reply.

Anantpoor, 11th August, 1806.

MY LORD,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter on the 2nd instant. On the first alarm of the conspiracy at Vellore, I dispatched orders to watch the proceedings of the principal people of Gurrumcondah, for I immediately suspected that the sons of Tippoo Sultan were concerned, and I concluded that if they had extended their intrigues beyond Vellore, the most likely places for them to begin with were Chitteldroog, Nundidroog, Gurrumcondah and Seringapatam.

Gurrumcondah is perhaps the quarter in which they would find most adherents, not from any thing that has recently happened, but from its cheapness having rendered it the residence of a great number of the disbanded troops of their father, and from the ancestors of Cummer ul Din Khan having been hereditary Killedars of Gurrumcondah under the Mogul empire, before their connection with Hyder Ally, and acquired a certain degree of influence in the district which is hardly yet done away. The family of Cummer ul Din is the only one of any consequence attached by the ties of relationship to that of Tippoo Sultan; and I do not think that it has sufficient weight to be at all dangerous without the limits of Gurrumcondah.

The poligars, I am convinced, never will run any risk for the sake of Tippoo's family. Some of them would be well pleased to join in disturbances of any kind, not with the view of supporting a new government, but of rendering themselves more independent. The most restless among them, the Ghuttim-man, is fortunately in confinement; and I imagine that the others have had little or no correspondence with the Princes. Had it been carried to any length,

I should most likely have heard of it from some of the poligars themselves.

The restoration of the Sultan never could alone have been the motive for such a conspiracy. Such an event could have been desirable to none of the Hindoos who form the bulk of the native troops, and to only a part of the Mussulmans. During the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder, the native troops, though ten or twelve months in arrear—though exposed to privations of every kind—though tempted by offers of reward, and though they saw that many who had gone over to him were raised to distinguished situations, never mutinied or showed any signs even of discontent. Occasional mutinies have occurred since that period, but they were always partial, and had no other object than the removal of some particular grievance. The extensive range of the late conspiracy can only be accounted for by the General Orders having been converted into an attack upon religious ceremonies; and though the regulations had undoubtedly no such object, it must be confessed that the prohibition of the marks of castes was well calculated to enable artful leaders to inflame the minds of the ignorant,—for there is nothing so absurd but that they will believe when made a question of religion. However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the sepoys Christians. The rapid progress of the conspiracy is not to be wondered at, for the circulation of the General Orders prepared the way, by spreading discontent; and the rest was easily done by the means of the tappal, and of sending confidential emissaries on leave of absence. The capture of Vellore, and, still more, the rescinding of the offensive parts of the regulations, will, I have no doubt, prevent any further commotion,—for the causes being removed, the discontent which has been excited will soon subside and

be forgotten. The native troops, sensible of their own guilt, will naturally for some time be full of suspicion and alarm; but it is hardly credible that they will again commit any acts of violence.

TO HIS FATHER.

[On the same subject.]

Anantpoor, 4th September, 1806.

DEAR SIR,

My promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel, about which you appear so anxious, is an old affair. I am about half-way up the list, next to John Dighton; and Davidson, who has given you so much trouble, is about a dozen lower down. ———— is, I suppose, gentleman-usher to all old Indians, on their arrival in Edinburgh; for I find that he introduces all those who visit you. I imagine that those Indians, from their talking of nothing but India, must be very insipid company to the old resident natives of Scotland.

I do not admire the plan of the ————'s, in setting George to read so early. Had he been the son of Scribblerus, or Mr. Shandy, such an experiment might have been expected; but I could not have believed that —— would have tried it. She may make her son puny and sickly by such early studies, without making him a bit wiser than other boys who begin three years later: he will get sore eyes and wear a wig, and be tormented by his playfellows.

Alexander will have written you of the peace with Holkar. The armies have returned into quarters, and there is at present no likelihood of any of the native powers interrupting our tranquillity. A very serious mutiny took place in June, among the sepoys at Vellore, in which sixteen officers and about a hundred Europeans of the 69th regiment, lost

their lives. The fort was, during some hours, in the possession of the insurgents, but was very gallantly recovered by Colonel Gillespie, who happened very fortunately to be in the command of the cavalry at Arcot, and hastened to Vellore on the first alarm, with the 19th light dragoons and 7th regiment native cavalry. Some of his own letters, of which I inclose a copy, will give you a full account of the affair.

A committee was appointed to investigate the causes of the insurrection. It has lately been dissolved; but I have not heard what report it has made. I have no doubt, however, that the discontent of the sepoys was originally occasioned by some ill-judged regulations about their dress: and that it broke out into open violence, in consequence of being encouraged by the intrigues of Tippoo, son of Moiz ul Din, then a prisoner in the place. The offensive article of the regulations which occasioned so much mischief, and which has since been rescinded, ran in the following words:—

10th.—"It is ordered by the regulations, that a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste, or wear earrings when dressed in his uniform. And it is further directed, that at all parades, and upon all duties, every soldier of the battalion shall be clean shaved on the chin. It is directed also, that uniformity, as far as is practicable, be preserved, in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip."

This trifling regulation, and a turban, with something in its shape or decorations to which the sepoys are extremely averse, were thought to be so essential to the stability of our power in this country, that it was resolved to introduce them, at the hazard of throwing our native army into rebellion. One battalion had already at Vellore rejected the turban, and been marched to Madras, with handkerchiefs tied about their heads; but the projectors were not discouraged. They pushed on their grand design, until they were suddenly stopped short by the dreadful

massacre of the 10th of July. They were then filled with alarm: they imagined that there was nothing but disaffection and conspiracy in all quarters, and that there would be a general explosion throughout all our military stations. There was unfortunately, however, no ground for such apprehensions; for almost every person but themselves was convinced that the sepoys, both from long habit and from interest, were attached to the service—that nothing but an attempt to force the disagreeable regulation upon them would tempt them to commit any outrage, and that whenever this design was abandoned, every danger of commotion would be at an end, and the sepoys would be as tractable and faithful as ever. Their discontent had nothing in it of treason or disaffection. It was of the same kind as that which would have been excited in any nation, by a violent attack upon its prejudices.

Peter the Great found the Russian beard a tough job. Beards and whiskers are not now such weighty matters in Europe as formerly; but even now, an order to shave the heads of all the troops in Britain, leaving them only a lock on the crown like Hindoos, or to make all the presbyterian soldiers wear the image of the Pope or St. Anthony, instead of a cockade, would, I suspect, occasion some expressions, if not acts, of disloyalty. A stranger who reads the Madras regulation, would naturally suppose that the sepoys' beards descend to their girdles, and that they are bearded like the pard; but this is so far from being the case, that they are now, and have been, as long as I can remember, as smooth on the chin as Europeans, making a due allowance for the difference of the razors employed on the two subjects. And as to the hair upon the upper lip, its form is so much like that which sometimes appears upon the upper lip of our own dragoons and grenadiers, that none but the critical eye of a shaver could distinguish the difference. Had the grand projected shaving-match terminated without accident, it might have amused the spec-

tators like a pantomime upon a large stage; but when it is considered how many brave men lost their lives by it, one cannot help feeling for the national character.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

TO HIS FATHER.

The date uncertain.

DEAR SIR,

MY last letter to any of the family at home was, I believe, to Erskine, and I then told her that I should make a remittance for the purchase of Leven Lodge. Some letters, both from you and her, gave me reason to fear that it might be sold, and that you would be forced to leave it. I hope that I have not been too late; for my mother appears to be attached to the place, and has enjoyed better health at it than she has done for some time, and she would probably not be so well any where else. It would, at all events, be very distressing to her to be driven to seek another habitation; for even a better one would not please her so much. She would regret the loss of her walks in the garden, and of all the trees and shrubs she has been accustomed to take care of. Messrs. Harington, Cockburn, and Harington, of Madras, have promised to remit to you an order for 2000*l.* sterling, by the first opportunity. This money is meant for the purchase of Leven Lodge; but should that place have been unfortunately already sold, you can then buy any other which you think will be agreeable to my mother. I hope she received the two shawls mentioned in the inclosed bill, which were consigned by the Monarch, in March, 1802, to Munro and Brown.

The treaties with Scindiah and the Berar Rajah give us the greatest accession of territory ever acquired on any former occasion. Not having seen the schedules, I do not exactly know the amount of the revenue; but I have heard

that the cessions from Berar are estimated at sixty lacs, and from Scindiah at one crore and seventy lacs of rupees. We get the provinces of Delhi and Agra, and all Scindiah's possessions to the northward of Icypoor, Jandipoor, and Gohud; a part of Guzerat, Ahmednaggur in the Deccan, and Cuttack, which connects the northern Circars with Bengal: General Wellesley dictated the terms. The gradual conquest of India might have been considered as certain, when Bangalore was taken; for when the Mysore power was broken, there was no other that could resist us. Tippoo himself was incapable of making any great exertions in the war in which he lost his life. Several of the principal powers have already received a subsidiary force; and there is little doubt that most of the others will follow their example hereafter, either with the view of defending themselves against external enemies, or rebellious competitors; for in Eastern governments, the death of the reigning prince is usually followed by a disputed succession: whenever they submit to receive a subsidiary force to be constantly stationed in their dominions, they have, in fact, lost their independence. They are influenced by the councils of the British Government in India; they become accustomed to its superiority; they sink into the rank of tributaries; and their territories, on the failure of heirs, or perhaps sooner, will form provinces of the British Empire.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate Son,

THOMAS MUNRO.

I cannot better conclude the present chapter, than by inserting a letter to his sister, which announced his intention of quitting India; a design which he carried into effect soon after the letter itself was despatched.

Anantpoor, 5th August, 1807.

DEAR ERSKINE,

A NUMBER of your letters have reached me within these few months; and I am not sure whether or not I have answered any of them: they are dated the 21st of June and 31st of December, 1806, and the 2d of January and 6th of February, 1807. One of them contains four sheets and a half, which is perhaps the cause of my not having before ventured to confess that I had received it. The climate of Scotland has, by your account, improved very much in its effects on the growth of trees. I find some difficulty in believing this, because it is contrary to the course of nature; for men and women have always observed, that as they grow older, every thing else degenerates. The seasons become more inclement, and corn, and animals, and trees, more stunted in their growth. But your trees—your ivy,—have escaped the influence of this general law, by their having been protected in their tender years by some firs. I remember two of those generous natives of our isle, as you call them, at Northside, and though they were at least fifty years old, they were scarcely twenty feet high: they certainly did not shoot up three or four feet in a season, in their youth; yet they were the two most respectable trees in that part of the country; and I doubt if your woods can show any thing like them. Trees in this country, with the advantage of artificial watering, hardly ever shoot more than six feet in a season, and in general, not more than four or five; but much less if goats get among them. I have a great mind to bring home a flock of five hundred or a thousand, if I can get a passage for them, merely to show you what they can do in one day in your elephant woods. I think they would finish the leaves in the forenoon, and the bark in the afternoon. But, it is in vain to talk of trees and goats to a politician; and I wish, therefore, that I could tell you who this Mr. Paul is, about whom you ask. Some say that he

is a tailor, who brought out a long bill against some of Lord Wellesley's Staff, and was in consequence provided for; others say that he was an adventurer, who sold knicknacks to the Nabobs of Oude. All that I know for certain is, that he is a great patriot, and that if you are obliged to get patriots from India, it is high time that I were home.

I am now preparing to quit this country: I have written for a passage, and mean to go to Madras next month; and if nothing unexpectedly occurs to detain me, I shall sail in October, and reach England, I hope, in March. I shall leave India with great regret, for I shall carry with me only a moderate competency, while by remaining four or five years longer, I should double my fortune; this, however, is of little consequence, as I am not expensive. But what I am chiefly anxious about is, what I am to do when I go home. I have no rank in the army there, and could not be employed upon an expedition to the Continent, or any other quarter; and as I am a stranger to the generous natives of your isle, I should be excluded from every other line as well as military, and should have nothing to do but to lie down in a field like the farmer's boy, and look at the lark sailing through the clouds. I wish to see our father and mother, and shall therefore make the voyage; but I much fear that I shall soon get tired of an idle life, and be obliged to return to this country for employment.

Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS MUNRO.

[The following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Thackeray at this time, are too valuable to be withheld.]

"IT is an old military privilege, which has at all times been very fully exercised, to abuse the civil powers. I

bear it with a Christian spirit of resignation, because most know, that all officers, and especially ensigns, always speak from the best authority, and that it therefore becomes us to hear what they say with proper deference."

The above relates to a complaint of a subaltern officer, who, when travelling through the country, could not, as he asserted, procure as many chickens and eggs as he wanted, though he saw the former running about before him.

"I regret your loss (alluding to his removal to a higher situation) on my own account, for I used to enjoy a fortnight's halt at Adoni, and talking of Greeks and Trojans, after having seen nobody perhaps for three or four months before, but Bedurs* and Gymnosophists."

"I hope that you will, in your new Government, carry into practice the maxims of the Grecian worthies, whom you so much admire; and that you will act in all situations, as Aristides would have done; and when you feel that your English spirits prompt you to act first and think afterwards, that you will recollect the temper of Themistocles—'Strike, but hear.' You are not likely to be placed in exactly the same situation; but many others may occur, in the course of your collectorate life, that will require as great a command of temper; and if there is any faith in physiognomy, I have no doubt that you will rival the Grecians; for, after you were cropt by the Adoni barber, you were a striking likeness of a head of Themistocles I recollect to have seen in an old edition of Plutarch's Lives, printed in the time of Queen Elizabeth."

"The fault of our judicial code is, that there is a great deal too much of it for a first essay. Our own laws expanded gradually during several centuries, along with the increasing knowledge and civilization of the people, so that they were always fitted in some measure to their faculties. But

* A caste of poligars, a sort of militia peons.

here, without any preparation, we throw them down in the lump among a parcel of ignorant rayets and equally ignorant pundits, whose legal knowledge does not extend beyond the term *puns of cowries*, for that is almost all that is to be found in Halhed's boasted code of regulations."

"It would have been better to have curtailed nine-tenths of the regulations,—to have confined appeals within narrower limits, and to have made the zillah judges absolute. Some fifty or sixty years hence, when the natives had become less litigious, and had learned what laws they had got, the sages of those days — some future 'Scotts and Malcolms'— might give them a more extensive code."

"I hope the conjunction of so many judges at Masulipatam will reform its morals. If the daughters of Belial are as numerous as they were in former times, I am afraid that they will still hold the balance of power, and that a conflict between them and the judges will be an 'impius congressus.'"

CHAPTER VI.

Returns to England.—Revisits Northwood-side.—Feelings on that occasion.—Paper on the subject of Free Trade with India.—Marriage.—Appointed Head Commissioner to inquire into the Judicial System.—Returns to Madras.

EARLY in the month of October, 1807, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro prepared to carry into execution the determination expressed in the preceding letter. With this view he applied for and obtained permission to resign his situation in the Ceded Districts; and, after a few days spent in putting the affairs of the province in order, he proceeded to Madras. Here he found a homeward-bound fleet in readiness to sail; and having bidden farewell to such of his old friends as still remained at the Presidency, and written a few valedictory letters to others scattered through the provinces, he took his passage for England.

Upwards of seven-and-twenty years were now elapsed since the date of Colonel Munro's first arrival in India, during the whole of which

time he had been actively and busily employed either in a military or a civil capacity. As a soldier, he had served with marked distinction in many campaigns, rising from the rank of Cadet through all the gradations to a Lieut.-Colonelcy; —as a civil officer, he had discharged duties more arduous and more important than ever before fell to the share of a British functionary in the East; and his talents, both for business and war, were acknowledged, on all hands, to be of the very highest order. But it was not in the mere routine of regimental and revenue affairs that Colonel Munro was admitted to possess a degree of intelligence rarely equalled. His thorough knowledge of the native languages—his intimate acquaintance with the native character—his facility of seeing into and unravelling the intricacies of native diplomacy, rendered his opinion on all points connected with Indian administration peculiarly valuable; and for many years back it had been sought with eagerness, and received with attention, by the highest authorities in the country. Of this, ample proof may be found in the recorded minutes of the several Governors-General, by all of whom, from Earl Cornwallis downwards, he was consulted, and to all of whom he freely gave advice, whether the question at issue referred to the settlement of the land revenue, or the organization and equipment of the army.*

* See the Appendix.

In a word, from the date of his appointment as assistant to Colonel Read in the Baramahl, till his embarkation at Madras, Colonel Munro may be said to have moved in a much wider sphere than that which he was supposed to occupy; being in more than one instance the author of arrangements in which he never appeared, exactly as the scene-shifter in a theatre, though himself unseen, is the real cause of the transmutations which the sword of harlequin seems to produce. It is not, therefore, surprising to find, that his departure from the scene of his labours was lamented by men of all ranks as a serious national calamity, or that he carried with him the admiration, and esteem of the liberal, with the respect even of those to whom his merits rendered him personally an object of something like envy.

After a pleasant passage of rather more than five months, Colonel Munro landed at Deal on the 5th of April, 1808. His feelings on that occasion were necessarily of a very mixed nature. Early associations were, of course, brought back in full vigour to his mind; but there arose with them that apprehension of unseen evils,—that dread of finding realities less bright than the pictures drawn by imagination, which cannot be wholly shaken off by any man who, after an absence of eight-and-twenty years, is about to revisit the haunts of his youth. Nevertheless his anxiety to enjoy again the society of his relatives

was too great to permit him to linger unnecessarily in the South. He hurried through Kent, and having transacted certain business, which detained him, till the summer was far advanced, in London, he took the road to Scotland.

Some of the melancholy forebodings which seem to have assailed him on his first landing in England, were now destined to receive their accomplishment. Time had wrought its usual effects both upon his own family and elsewhere; for the mother whom he loved so tenderly, died a year previous to his arrival, and his father was fast approaching that state, when the society even of those nearest and dearest to us can scarcely be said to interest or amuse. Of his brothers, likewise, two had paid the debt of nature; and of his early acquaintances many were sleeping with their ancestors, whilst such as survived were unavoidably changed, if not in disposition and feeling, at all events in outward appearance. Yet nature was the same now as she had ever been, and the lapse of so many years had in no degree affected the intensity of delight with which Colonel Munro was accustomed to look abroad upon her charms.

The following letter to his sister presents as beautiful and affecting a picture as I recollect ever to have seen, of the feelings of a noble-minded man under very peculiar circumstances.

Glasgow, 25th October, 1808.

DEAR ERSKINE,

YOUR letters to Alexander and me, without date as usual, have arrived just as punctually as if they had had that qualification. We shall not be in Edinburgh till the 2nd November, and instead of paying you a visit at Ammondel, I must, I believe, stay at home until I recover my hearing; for I am now deafer than ever I was in my life, owing to a cold which I caught, or rather which caught me, a day or two before I left Edinburgh. I have been little more than a dumb spectator of all the gaiety which you talk of, for I can hardly hear a word that is said. I never was so impatient under deafness as at present, when I meet every moment in my native city old acquaintances, asking fifty questions, which they are obliged to repeat four or five times before they can make me comprehend them. Some of them stare at me, and think, no doubt, that I am come home because I am deranged. I am so entirely incapable of taking any part in conversation, that I have no pleasure in company, and go into it merely to save appearances. A solitary walk is almost the only thing in which I have any enjoyment. I have been twice at Northside, and though it rained without ceasing on both days, it did not prevent me from rambling up and down the river from Claysloup to the Aqueduct Bridge. I stood above an hour at Jackson's Dam, looking at the water rushing over, while the rain and withered leaves were descending thick about me, and while I recalled the days that are past. The wind whistling through the trees, and the water tumbling over the dam, had still the same sound as before; but the darkness of the day, and the little smart box perched upon the opposite bank, destroyed much of the illusion, and made me feel that former times were gone. I don't know how it is, but, when I look back to early years, I always associate sunshine with them. When I

think of Northwood-side, I always think of a fine day, with the sunbeams streaming down upon Kelvin and its woody banks. I do not enter completely into early scenes of life in gloomy, drizzling weather; and I mean to devote the first sunny day to another visit to Kelvin, which, whatever you may say, is worth ten such paltry streams as your Ammon.

The threat conveyed in this letter, of visiting Northwood-side again, was, on more than one occasion, punctually executed; when every spot, endeared to him by the recollections of other days, received its due share of notice. He bathed in the dam, wandered through the woods, sat down upon the old bench, and even climbed the aged tree among whose branches, or at whose roots, he had so frequently indulged his youthful taste for reading; and he turned his back upon the place at last, not without a pang of regret, such as he felt when starting into life upwards of a quarter of a century before.

When the novelty of his situation had in some degree worn off, and things began to assume around him the air of familiar objects, Colonel Munro gradually entered, with more and more spirit, into the society of his native land. He now spent a good deal of his time in Edinburgh, where he resumed his favourite study of Chemistry, by attending Dr. Hope's lectures, and by perusing such works as had come out since his departure for India; whilst he varied his mode of life by making frequent excursions, sometimes to

the seat of his brother-in-law, sometimes to other places. He began, likewise, to look around for some desirable property, with a view of purchasing, if not of permanently settling on it; and more than one appears to have been submitted to his choice, without effect. But Colonel Munro was not calculated to lead long, and with comfort to himself, a life of absolute idleness. The want of employment began at last to be felt; and having in vain sought to dispel, by wandering from place to place in England, the weariness arising out of it, he removed to London, where he took up his temporary abode.

Any man who has distinguished himself as Colonel Munro had done, is sure of finding a ready admission into the best society of the British capital. Many of his personal friends were settled there; and his reputation having already extended far beyond the bounds of their circle, he found all classes anxious to cultivate his acquaintance. He met their advances with the frankness which was natural to him; and, whatever the company might be into which accident threw him, he both received and communicated gratification and amusement. Himself a man of letters and science, he was perfectly at home in the literary and scientific circles: accustomed to think profoundly on state questions, he was equally at home among politicians; whilst even with that large portion of men who depend upon their titles, their wealth, or other adventitious

circumstances, for importance, he never failed to be at ease. In mixed or large companies, he was indeed usually silent, because his deafness hindered him from comprehending what was said when many persons spoke together; but, wherever an opening was made, he delighted and instructed those about him by his playful wit and great conversational powers.

Whilst such was the tenor of his more social life, Colonel Munro never ceased to take a lively interest in the situation and prosperity of the country. He watched with an attentive eye the progress of the war in the Peninsula, of which, even when affairs wore the most unpromising aspect, he predicted the successful termination, and he invariably advocated the sound policy of putting forth the whole strength of the empire in the struggle. It has been asserted, I believe upon good grounds, that his Grace the Duke of Wellington made more than one effort to obtain the assistance of his well-known talents. Be this however as it may, there can be no doubt that he was in constant communication with the Duke, than whom no man more justly rated him; whilst his own anxiety to join the Peninsular army was such, that he would, in all probability, have been permitted to indulge it, had not his services been again required by the East India Company.*

* When the expedition to the Scheld was fitted out, Colonel Munro accompanied it as a volunteer, and was present with Sir John Hope, whose guest he was, at the siege of Flushing. Un-

One of Colonel Munro's chief amusements at this time consisted in attending the discussions in the courts of law, and the debates in parliament. The former interested him chiefly because they enabled him to compare one mode of administering justice with another; the latter could hardly fail of exciting the deepest attention from one whom nature herself had intended for a statesman. Whether he entertained at this period any idea of obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, I am unable to say; but events were fast approaching which furnished the least reflecting with the power to judge as to his fitness or unfitness for the office of a senator.

The period drew near when the Company's charter must either expire or be renewed, as it had been twenty years previously; and public attention began to be directed, with no ordinary eagerness, to the result. Parliament partaking in the feeling which existed to a greater or less degree throughout the country, determined to do nothing rashly, but to examine the matter fully, and in all its bearings, ere they came to any determination. Many persons connected with India were, in consequence, summoned to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, touching the relative advantages and disadvantages of renewing or withdrawing the charter, in whole or in part, unchanged or modified,—whilst

fortunately none of his letters, written at the time, have been preserved.

the question of throwing open the trade of India was discussed with all the violence which such a question was likely to excite in this commercial country. I speak not my own language, but that of the Commons of England,* when I assert, that among all whose opinions were sought on that memorable occasion, Colonel Munro made the deepest impression upon the House, by the comprehensiveness of his views, by the promptitude and intelligibility of his answers, and by the judgment and sound discretion which characterised every sentiment to which he gave utterance. I cannot occupy the pages of a work like this, by transcribing from a volume which is within the reach of all who take an interest in East India affairs; but of his mode of arguing, as it appears in certain memoranda which have fallen, with other of his manuscripts, into my possession, it were unjust not to afford at least one example.† The following very able paper relates to the question of opening the trade to India with the outports; though whether intended for his own perusal only, or drawn up at the request of another party, I am unable to state. It will be read with peculiar interest at a

* See a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, on India Affairs, 1813.

† The reader is referred to the Appendix for many more, which, if he be desirous of making himself acquainted with the views of a great Indian statesman, will amply compensate the labour of perusal.

moment when the affairs of the East are again about to be made the subject of parliamentary discussion.

MEMORANDUM ON OPENING THE TRADE WITH INDIA TO THE OUTPORTS, 1st FEBRUARY, 1813.

1. The discussions between His Majesty's ministers and the Directors of the East India Company, regarding the renewal of the Charter, have apparently broken off upon a point which neither party seem at first to have looked forward to, as coming within the range of concessions to be made to public opinion. The opening of the import trade from India directly to the outports of the United Kingdom is never once mentioned by Lord Melville in his letters of the 28th December, 1808, and 17th December, 1811, though he insists on the admission of the ships as well as the goods of private merchants to the trade of India as a preliminary condition, yet this applies only to the exports from the outports and the imports to the Port of London; and in one of his last communications to the Directors, on the 4th of March, 1812, in answer to the sixth article of the hints submitted to him by that body, viz. "The whole of the Indian Trade to be brought to the Port of London, and the goods sold at the Company's sales,"—he observes, that the adoption of the regulation suggested in this proposition will probably tend to the security and advantage of the revenue.

Lord Buckinghamshire's letter, of the 27th of April, 1812, contains the first notice of an intention to open the import trade to the outports; and in his letters of the 24th December, 1812, and 4th January, 1813, he states, that this change in the original arrangement had been the result of personal conferences with persons interested in the trade of the outports, who had shown that the liberty of export without that of imports would be nugatory.

The sentiments of the Directors, on the opening of the trade, had long been known to His Majesty's Government. It might have been expected, therefore, that ministers would at once have formed their own plan, and proceeded to carry it into effect; or if, before taking this step, they wished to receive every suggestion by which it might be improved, it might have been expected that they would have begun with examining the petitions, and hearing the Delegates from the outports; that they would then have heard the objections of the Directors to the claims of the outports, —admitted them if just, rejected them if otherwise; and, finally have adopted their own plan, either as it originally stood, or with such amendments as might have been judged expedient. But instead of following this course, ministers enter into a long negotiation with the Directors: they bring forward no complete system; they discuss insulated points, keeping others in reserve, as if the Directors had been the agents of a foreign power; they confer with the Delegates, and call upon the Directors to relinquish to the outports the right of importing direct from India, which they themselves, until a very late period of the discussions, had evidently no idea of conceding. Whether both parties knew previously or not, that to the outports the right of exporting, without that of importing direct, would be nugatory, the appearance at least of such a knowledge ought to have been avoided.

The Directors however, by not objecting to Lord Melville's declaration, that ships should clear out from the outports, had virtually acceded to it, and ought therefore to have agreed also to the claim of importing direct; provided it could be shown that this measure would be productive of no serious injury to the Company or the public. Among the evils which they regarded as the inevitable consequence of it, were, the great additional facility of smuggling, the diminution of their sales and profits to such a degree as to

incapacitate them from paying their dividends, and of necessity the complete breaking up of the system by which India is now governed. Ministers maintained, that, as guardians of the public revenue, they were as much interested as the Directors in the prevention of smuggling, and that regulations adequate to this purpose could easily be framed. It was surely no very unreasonable request, on the part of the Directors, to be made acquainted with those regulations, on the success or failure of which the very existence of the Company would probably depend; but ministers refuse to give them this satisfaction, and require that they shall consent to run the risk of annihilation, on the assurance that a remedy will be found perfectly competent to save them. Ministers were bound to have shown clearly, not only that smuggling could be prevented, but that very important benefits would accrue to the public from the opening of the trade to the outports, before they pledged themselves to so great an innovation; for, without weighty and manifest advantages, what wise statesman would hazard such a change in a system which has been found so eminently useful in all the main points for which it was intended? It is well known that smuggling has been carried on to a great extent in the river Thames; that it is only within these few years that means have been devised to restrain it at all, and that it is still too frequently practised with impunity. It would of course extend in proportion as the field for it was widened; and if it has not yet been subdued in the river Thames, in what time, it may be asked, can we rationally hope that, by any set of regulations, it will be effectually repressed in the numerous creeks along the coasts of Scotland and Ireland? Have such regulations been yet prepared? and have the Commissioners of Customs and of Excise expressed their confidence that they will be efficacious? If they have not, the experiment of a free trade with India should for the pre-

sent be confined to the Port of London. For this restriction, the Directors have, on their side, the high authority of some of our most eminent statesmen—Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the late Lord Melville. Against it, the ministers have, in their favour, commercial theory and the arguments of the outports, promising great commercial advantages.

No candid man, who considers fairly the correspondence that has passed on this subject, can resist the belief, that Government has throughout been guided solely by a view to the public good; and we may therefore infer, that besides the security of the revenue, the advantages which it contemplates are—the encouragement of our own manufactures by an increased export, and the benefit both of India and this country by an augmented importation of Indian produce.

Now as to the exports, it is not likely that they will ever, unless very slowly, be much extended; opposed by moral and physical obstacles, by religion, by civil institutions, by climate, and by the skill and ingenuity of the people of India.

Some increase there will undoubtedly be, but such as will arise principally from the increase of European establishments, and of the mixed race which springs up in their chief settlements.

No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, will always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camblets are warmer and more lasting than ours.

Glass-ware is in little request, except with a very few principal natives, and, among them, is confined to mirrors

and lamps; and it is only such natives as are much connected with Europeans, who purchase these articles. They keep them, not to gratify their own taste, but to display to their European friends when they receive their occasional visits;—at all other times they are put out of the way as useless incumbrances. Their simple mode of living, dictated both by caste and climate, renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of the house and the table utterly unserviceable to the Hindoos; living in low mud-houses, eating on the bare earth, they cannot require the various articles used among us. They have no tables; their houses are not furnished, except those of the rich, which have a small carpet, or a few mats and pillows. The Hindoos eat alone, many from caste, in the open air, others under sheds, and out of leaves of trees, in preference to plates. But this is the picture, perhaps, of the unfortunate native reduced to poverty by European oppression under the Company's monopoly? No—it is equally that of the highest and richest Hindoo in every part of India. It is that of the minister of state. His dwelling is little better than a shed: the walls are naked, and the mud-floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. He has no furniture in it. He distributes food to whoever wants it; but he gives no grand dinners to his friends. He throws aside his upper garment, and, with nothing but a cloth round his loins, he sits down half-naked, and eats his meal alone, upon the bare earth, and under the open sky.

These simple habits are not peculiar to the Hindoos. The Mohammedan also, with a few exceptions among the higher classes, conforms to them.

If we reason from the past to the future, we can have no well-founded expectation of any considerable extension of our exports. If it were as easy, as some suppose, to

introduce the use of foreign articles, it would have been done long ago.

From the most distant ages of antiquity, there was a constant intercourse between India and the countries on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, without the introduction of foreign manufactures among the Hindoos; and since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, there has been an extensive trade with the western nations of Europe, without any one of them having been more successful than the ancients in prevailing upon the Hindoos to change their customs so far as to use their commodities in preference to their own. Neither the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, nor the English, have in this respect effected any considerable change; but this will be imputed to the restraints imposed by the monopolies of trading companies. Let us impute to this cause all that we can. Still we should expect that some progress would have been made in three centuries; that if all the natives could not purchase foreign articles, the rich would, and that the demand would be greatest at the chief seats of European trade, and lessen gradually towards the interior. But the inhabitants on the coast are as little changed as in the interior. The very domestics of Europeans adopt none of their customs, and use none of their commodities.

The monopoly-price, it will be said, has prevented their sale among the natives; but it is well known that European articles are often sold at prime cost. The monopoly might impede, but it would not completely hinder the sale. It ought to operate in India as in Europe. It does not prevent us in Europe from purchasing, it merely compels us to take fewer of the articles we want.

The monopoly of spices by the Dutch, and of piece-goods by the English, has not prevented their sale in Europe. It has made them dearer, and made the consumers take less. Why should a monopoly of exports

to India not follow the same course? Why should not the principal native merchants purchase of the Company, and retail to the country dealers? We must therefore look to some other cause than monopoly for the little progress that the demand for European commodities has made among the Hindoos. Besides the peculiar customs and institutions and climate of India, we must look to the superior skill of the Indian workmen. We cannot profitably export to them until our own fabrics excel theirs. When this is accomplished, no extraordinary skill will be required to extend the sale. The Indians will purchase, even though we should endeavour to prevent them, just as we in this country purchase the contraband stuffs of India.

But though there are unquestionably many obstacles to any considerable increase of our exports to India, the prejudices of the natives have not so much share in them as is usually supposed. Their prejudices extend only to intoxicating liquors, and certain prohibited kinds of food. They do not reach to other things. Every article, as it comes from the hands of the workman, is pure. There is no prejudice against the cloth, though there may be some against the particular form of the garment. The grand obstacles to our exports are the inability of the Indians to purchase our commodities, and the cheapness and excellence of their own. It is obvious, therefore, that their demand for ours can only be enlarged either by a general improvement in the condition of the natives of India, or by a reduction in the price of European articles: coarse woollens are undoubtedly the article which would find the greatest sale, if they could be furnished at a moderate rate. Almost every native of India has a broad piece of coarse woollen, which he uses as a Highlander does his plaid. He sits on it, sleeps on it, and wraps it round him when he walks abroad in cold or rainy weather.

Its texture, something like that of the camblet of our boat-cloaks, and its hairy surface, which throws off the rain, is better adapted to the purposes for which he wants it, than the European manufacture; and he would consequently, even if the prices of both were equal, still give it the preference. In seeking, therefore, to extend our exports, cheapness is not the only requisite,—the tastes of the natives must also be studied. Some articles, which we like plain, they like with the most gaudy colours, and *vice versâ*. Though simple in their diet and habitations, they are as fond as any people in the world of expense in their dress, their servants, and whatever they consider as show or luxury; and, as far as their means go, they will purchase for these objects, from foreign countries, whatever their own does not produce. It is singular, however, that after our long intercourse with India, no new article of export has been discovered, nor the quantity of any old one materially augmented; but with regard to the imports, the case is different. A new article, raw-silk, has been introduced by the Company into Bengal, and imported largely into this country; and cotton and indigo, the old products of India, have only of late been brought in any great quantity to this country.

Though the trade between Britain and India is not at all proportionate to the population and resources of the two countries, yet when we consider the skill and industry of their respective inhabitants, the nature of man constantly searching for new enjoyments, and the invariable effect of commerce in exciting and supplying new wants, we cannot refuse to admit that a change must at last be effected, however slow and imperceptible in its progress, when the mutual demand of the two countries for the products of each other will far exceed its present amount. Whether an increased export of European commodities is to arise from furnishing them cheaper, or of a fashion more suited

to the Indian market, in either case the event is to be looked for rather from the exertions of private traders than of the Company's servants; not that the Company's servants are deficient in knowledge or industry, but that they are not stimulated by the same deep interest; that they are few in number; and that it is contrary to every rational principle of calculation to suppose, that in so small a body the same amount of talent shall be found as among the immense multitude of men trained in commercial habits, from which the merchants of Britain may select their Indian agents.

The danger of colonization from the resort of European adventurers to India, is an objection entitled to very little weight. They could not by law become proprietors of land. They could not become manufacturers, as the superior skill and frugality of the natives would render all competition with them unavailing. They could find no profitable occupation but as mechanics for making articles for the use of European residents, or as traders or agents; but the number employed in these ways would necessarily be limited by the extent of the trade, without a corresponding increase of which it could not be materially augmented. The Europeans who might go out to India, in consequence of the opening of the trade, would be chiefly the agents of commercial and manufacturing houses in this country. But it is manifest, that only so many as could be advantageously employed would be kept in India. If it appeared on trial that more had been sent out, the excess would be recalled. If adventurers went to India to trade on their own account, their number also would necessarily be regulated by the extent of this trade, and those whom it could not employ would be obliged to return. Few Europeans would go to India only with the view of returning ultimately to their own country. Those who remained could not colonize. Confined to trade, excluded by law

from the possession of land, and unable to find employment as manufacturers, they could never rise into a flourishing colony. They would be kept down by the great industrious Indian population, and they would probably dwindle into a race little better than the mixed caste descended from the Portuguese. But supposing even an extreme case, that all the Europeans who could find employment in trade in India should settle there, and abandon for ever their native country, and that their number should in time amount to fifty thousand, yet even this number, unlikely as it is ever to be seen, would, if left to itself, be lost among a native population of forty millions. Its own preservation would depend on the stability of the British Government; and even if it were disposed to act in opposition to its own interest, it would be unable to disturb the authority of Government for a moment. The only way in which European colonies could be productive of mischief to India, would be from the increased number of adventurers who, in spite of every precaution, would escape to the interior to seek service among the native princes, and might, when they were fortunate enough to meet with an able one of a warlike character, instigate him to invade the territory of his neighbours. But we are now subject to the same inconvenience by the desertion of European soldiers and settlers. It would unquestionably be augmented, but not to any alarming degree by colonization.

The Americans were not checked in their enterprises by an exclusive Company. They had a free trade to India, and ought, according to the advocates of that system, to have undersold the Company, and filled all India with European goods. But the Americans have not done this, say the outports, only because they are not a manufacturing people, and because, as they carry on a profitable trade with Spanish America for bullion, they find it more convenient to export that article to India, in order to provide

their cargoes there. But what is to hinder them when they come to this country, with the produce of their own, from sailing to India with a cargo of English manufactures? Nothing but the conviction that they could not be sold. Were it otherwise, no American, any more than a British merchant, would carry bullion where there was a market for goods, and content himself with a profit on one cargo where he might have it on two. The Americans are a sober, industrious, persevering race, with all the skill and enterprise of our outport merchants, and all the attention to their interest of trade, which forms so strong a contrast between the private trader and the agent of a joint-stock company; and with all these useful qualifications, every man who is not blinded by prejudices in favour of old establishments, will readily believe that the Americans, had they not unhappily quarrelled with this country, would in time have circulated our manufactures to every corner of India. On viewing, however, the process by which they were to arrive at this end, we perceive, with surprise, that almost from the beginning they had been going rather backward than forward. In the six years from 1802-3 to 1807-8, the proportion of goods to bullion in their exports, was only about fifteen per cent. In the three years from 1808-9 to 1810-11, it was not more than eight per cent.: and these goods were almost exclusively for the use of Europeans. The active American trader therefore has not been more successful than the agent of the Company in importing to the natives a proper taste for British manufactures; and indeed there is but too much reason to fear that all the enterprise of the outport merchant will be equally fruitless, and that the natives will, in spite of reason and free trade, still persist in preferring their own fine stuffs to the dowlas of England.

Persia and Arabia on the west, and the countries on the east of India, either have what they want within them-

selves, or they receive it cheaper from India than they can be supplied from Europe.

On the whole, there is no ground to look for any considerable increase in the demand for our manufactures, by the natives of India, unless by very slow steps, and at a very distant period; and it may be questioned whether the private traders would export so much as the Company are now bound to do.

With respect to the imports from India, the quantity is expected to be increased, and the price diminished by shorter voyages and other causes. Most of the articles now imported, India is capable of supplying to any extent; and every measure by which the demand can be enlarged and the supply facilitated, of those commodities which do not interfere with our own manufacture, promotes the national prosperity.

Piece-goods, the great Indian staple, have fallen in demand, in consequence of the improvement of the cotton fabrics of this country, and are likely to fall still lower. As they cannot rise without interfering with our own manufactures, all that is necessary is to supply ourselves the demand which still remains, without the aid of foreigners. Cotton is grown in abundance in most parts of India; but while it sells at only half the price of that from America, it can be brought with advantage to England, only when the trade with America is interrupted.

The importation however might, it is supposed, be greatly increased by more attention to clearing the cotton in India, where labour is so cheap—by cultivating from among the various kinds which are indigenous to the soil, that which is best adapted to our manufactures, or by introducing the culture of foreign cotton, such as that of America or Bourbon. * In the north of India the fields of cotton are artificially watered; in the south they are

left to the rain and dews of heaven. In the north, therefore, the Bourbon and American cotton, both of which require much moisture, would be most likely to succeed.

For encouraging the culture of the best kind of Indian cotton, and clearing and preparing it for the home-market, and for promoting the growth of foreign cotton in India, no person is so well qualified as the manufacturer of this country; for he who has sunk a large capital in expensive buildings and machinery, has a much deeper interest in securing a durable supply of good cotton than the merchant who can with much less inconvenience divert his capital from one object to another.

Bengal raw-silk has been for some years imported to the amount of about 600,000*l.* per annum, and may be increased to any extent, if protected by duties against the French and Italian.

Indigo is now imported equal at least to the demand of all Europe.

Sugar, by a reduction of the existing duties, might be brought home to any extent; but would prove highly detrimental to the West Indian planters.

Pepper and drugs have long been supplied equal to the demand, which cannot admit of any considerable increase, as the consumption of these articles must, from their very nature, be at all times extremely limited.

These are the chief articles of Indian produce, which find a sale in the European market. Of some, the consumption can never be much increased, and of others it cannot be augmented without injury to our home manufactures and West Indian colonies. All of them, with the exception of sugar and cotton, require very little tonnage; and the expected increase of shipping must consequently prove delusive, until we can either undersell the American

cotton, or consent to bring the Indian into competition with the West Indian sugar.

The same outcry is still kept up against the Company's monopoly, as if it still existed in all its former strictness, and were not in fact nearly done away. That monopoly, however, even in its most rigid state, has been the source of many great national advantages. It enabled the Company to expend annually 64,000*l.* in the purchase of Cornwall tin, which they exported without any profit, and often with a loss. It enabled them to expend 80,000*l.* for the encouragement of the Indigo manufacture, and to support the traders in that article during their difficulties, by an advance of nearly a million sterling. It enabled them to persevere in the preparation of raw-silk, though they lost on their sales of that article, from 1776 to 1785, to the amount of 884,000*l.*; and it enabled them to acquire the extensive dominions now under the British Government in India. These territories never could have been acquired, had there not existed a Company possessing the exclusive trade—directing their undivided attention constantly to India, and employing their funds in extending their dominions. The whole of the merchants of Britain trading separately, could neither have undertaken nor accomplished so magnificent an enterprise.

The Company are willing that the trade should be thrown open to the Port of London; but this, it is asserted, will not afford a wide enough range for the skill and enterprise of British merchants. But are these qualities monopolized by the outports? Have not the London merchants their full share, and have they not capital sufficient to carry on all the Indian trade which the most visionary theorist can look for? If freedom of trade is claimed on the ground of right, and not of expediency, every port in the kingdom ought to enjoy it; for they have all the same right ab-

stractedly. But, unfortunately, it is necessary to withhold the benefit from them, because the warehouse-system and customhouses are not yet sufficiently spread along our coasts; or, in other words, because a great increase of smuggling would unavoidably ensue. The East India Company are attacked from all quarters, as if they alone, in this kingdom, possessed exclusive privileges. But monopoly pervades all our institutions. All corporations are inimical to the natural rights of British subjects. The corn laws favour the landed interest, at the expense of the public. The laws against the export of wool, and many others, are of the same nature; and likewise those by which West India commodities are protected and enhanced in price. It would be better for the community that the West India planter should be permitted to export his produce direct to all countries, and that the duties on East Indian sugar, &c. should be lowered.

When the petitioners against the Company complain that half the globe is shut against their skill and enterprise, and that they are debarred from passing the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and rushing into the seas beyond them with their vessels deeply laden with British merchandise, they seem not to know that they may do so now —that all private traders may sail to the Western coast of America; to the Eastern coast of Africa, and to the Red Sea; and that India, China, and the intervening tract only, are shut. Some advantage would undoubtedly accrue to the outports from the opening of the trade. But the question is, would this advantage compensate to the nation for the injury which the numerous establishments in the metropolis connected with India would sustain, and the risk of loss on the Company's sales, and of their trade by smuggling?

The loss of the China trade would subvert the system by which India is governed: another equally good might possibly be found; but no wise statesman would overthrow

that which experience has shown to be well adapted to its object, in the vain hope of instantly discovering another.

It yet remains doubtful whether or not the trade can be greatly increased; and as it will not be denied that London has both capital and mercantile knowledge in abundance, to make the trial on the greatest scale, the danger to be apprehended from all sudden innovations ought to induce us to proceed with caution, and rest satisfied, for the present, with opening the trade to the Port of London. Let the experiment be made; and if it should hereafter appear that London is unable to embrace the increasing trade, the privilege may then, on better grounds, and with less danger, be extended to other places.

If Government cannot clearly establish that no material increase of smuggling, and no loss on the Company's sales, and consequent derangement of their affairs, would ensue from allowing the outports to import direct from India, they should consider that they are risking great certain benefits for a small contingent advantage.

It was not, however, by drawing up such papers as this, nor yet by his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons alone, that Colonel Munro took part in the great question then under discussion. Very many of the articles which appeared in the several Reviews—a still greater number of the pamphlets which came out at the time, were submitted, previous to publication, to his revision; whilst not a few, for which others have obtained credit, owe all their merits to him. It seemed indeed as if business, public business, was the atmosphere in which alone he could freely breathe; for even

his period of professed relaxation was more than half consumed in attending to matters of high moment. Yet was Colonel Munro all this while a close and attentive inquirer into other sciences. Besides chemistry, for which his partiality continued unabated, he studied political economy in the abstract, as he found it taught in the pages of Ricardo and his rivals, making his remarks upon each passage as he went along; and of the soundness of his views the reader may judge for himself by turning to the specimen of his criticisms which is given in the Appendix.

It can hardly be forgotten, that one effect produced by the minute inquiry into the affairs of India at this time, was to occasion a somewhat unfavourable impression throughout the country at large, of the operation of our judicial system in the East. The same sentiments were entertained by the Court of Directors, who determined to send out a Commission with full powers of inquiring into, and ameliorating, such defects as might be found to exist; and Colonel Munro's intelligence on judicial as well as financial subjects was so apparent to all who enjoyed an opportunity of appreciating it, that he was at once selected as a fit person to be placed at its head. He accepted the appointment, more from a desire to better the condition of the natives, and to benefit his employers, than through any craving of personal ambition, and as he had

been detained in England whilst the late inquiries were pending, by an especial act of authority, the fact of his having overstaid the customary term of leave was not permitted to interfere with the arrangement. But, previous to his setting out, a change took place in his own circumstances, which gave a turn to the whole of his after-life,—I allude to his marriage with Miss Jane Campbell, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of —— Campbell, Esq. of Craigie House, Ayrshire. This event occurred on the 30th of March, 1814, at the residence of Mr. Campbell; and it is not going too far to affirm, that whether his own happiness be considered, (a feeling which, with Colonel Munro, could not operate unless there were some other being besides himself on whom to fix his affections,) or the advantages conferred upon the society of Madras, by the presence there, in the highest station, of a lady remarkable for the correctness of her manners and steadiness of her principles, nothing could have befallen more fortunate or more beneficial in its general consequences.

CHAPTER VII.

Appointment of a Commission to revise the Judicial System.—Colonel Munro nominated Chief Commissioner.—Arrival in India.—Objects of the Commission.—Letters to Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Cumming, &c.

COLONEL MUNRO had been married barely seven weeks, the greater portion of which he spent in London,* when, his commission being duly made out, and all other things prepared, he set sail, with his wife and sister-in-law, from Portsmouth. He reached his place of destination on the 16th of September, after a pleasant passage of eighteen weeks, the ship not having touched at any port by the way; and landing immediately, found himself once more amid the bustle and gaiety of Madras.

* One brief interval of something less than a fortnight was occupied in paying a visit to Paris, which, being filled by the armies of the Allied Sovereigns, presented more than common attractions to Colonel Munro. But of the adventures attending that excursion I know nothing.

The following letter to his friend George Brown, Esq., gives a lively description of the manner in which he was received at the Presidency:—

TO GEORGE BROWN, ESQ.

Madras, 30th September, 1814.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

WE arrived here on the 16th, without touching anywhere, after a passage of above eighteen weeks, of almost constantly fine, and often very hot weather. I was so tired of a ship-life that I often wished I had never left home; and what I have gone through since landing has not tended to change my mind on that subject. I have now been here a fortnight, and have had so little time to think about any thing, that I scarcely know whether I am in India or not. I have been attending to nothing but visits. The first operation on landing is for the stranger to visit all married people, whether he knows them or not. Bachelors usually call first on him—then his visits are returned;—then his wife visits the ladies; and altogether there is such calling, and gossiping, and driving all over the face of the country, in an old hack-chaise, in the heat of the day, that I can hardly believe myself in the same place where I used, in former times, to come and go quietly without a single formal visit. But all this is owing to a man's being married. Had I come out single, I should have been settled at once, and nobody would have thought it worth their while to call upon one. While I am passing through all these tiresome ceremonials, I often wish that I were trudging through the streets to Russell-square. We are all going to a ball to-night, to be given to General Abercrombie on his departure; and here another trouble begins which I did not foresee—I shall

be obliged to stay late to bring away the ladies. General Abercrombie has given much satisfaction here; and his conduct has contributed greatly to remove the party-spirit which formerly subsisted among different classes of people. Every thing is now perfectly quiet; and, as far as I can learn, there is no appearance of any disturbance either domestic or foreign. Yours truly,

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO.

Colonel Munro was not, however, disposed to waste, in such pursuits as these, time of which he entertained a just value. He addressed himself at once to the novel and important task which had been committed to him; for a due understanding of which it will be necessary to lay before the reader a brief sketch of the state of affairs as they then subsisted.

The great leading feature of that system of internal administration, which owes its origin to the Marquis Cornwallis, consists in the total separation of the two departments of justice and revenue, by depriving the collector of all authority as judge and magistrate, and vesting it in the hands of a distinct functionary. To this may be added the entire subversion of every native institution, —the transfer of the property in the soil to a distinct class of persons, dignified with the appellation of Zemindars,—the overthrow of all hereditary jurisdictions,—the abolition of all hereditary offices, and the removal, as much as possible, out of the hands of the natives, of every species of power and influence.

According to the ancient customs of the country, as they prevailed under the rule of the Mogul dynasty, the officer to whom was committed the charge of administering the revenue in every district, was, by whatever title recognised, vested, throughout that district, with extensive judicial authority. It was his business, in an especial manner, to hear and to determine all disputes arising out of the collection of the land-tax; to defend the rayets, or cultivators, against the tyranny of his own officers, and to cause restitution to be made whenever he saw reason to believe that more than the established amount had been exacted from them. Both the titles of these functionaries, and the extent of their jurisdiction, necessarily varied in different parts of India; but their power, whether it extended over a province, a portion of a province, or a single village, was every where in effect the same.

Again, in all Indian villages, there was a regularly constituted municipality, by which its affairs, both of revenue and police, were administered, and which exercised, to a very considerable extent, magisterial and judicial authority, in all matters private as well as public. At the head of this, in the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George, were the Potail and the Curnum; the former being to his own village at once a magistrate and a collector; the latter, a sort of notary or public accountant. Under them again were the Talliars, or village police, consisting

of a body of hereditary watchmen, whose business it was to assist in getting in the revenue, to preserve the inhabitants from outrage, to guide travellers on the way, and who, in the event of any robbery, were held answerable for the loss, in case they failed to produce the thief or the property stolen. But the most remarkable of all the native institutions, was perhaps the Punchayet. This was an assembly of a certain number of the inhabitants, before whom parties maintaining disputes one with another, pleaded their own cause, and who, like an English jury, heard both sides patiently, and then gave a decision according to their own views of the case. The Punchayet was of course differently composed, according to the matters referred to its decision. If a question relating to caste, for example, required solution, the Punchayet was not made up of the same description of persons who sat upon a question of doubtful right to property; but in all cases the Punchayet, though a tribunal voluntarily constituted, that is to say, not formally recognised by the Mohammedan authorities, exercised a great and beneficial influence among the people. Thus were all the affairs of the village, the collection of the revenue, the adjustment of disputes, the suppression, and sometimes the punishment of crime, conducted within itself, not perhaps in every instance with perfect justice or impartiality, but at least with promptitude, and the utmost regularity.

Precisely similar to this was the arrangement or organization of larger tracts of country, which embraced, according to circumstances, ten, twenty, forty, or a hundred villages. At the head of each of those was a zemindar, poligar, teshildar, or amildar, with his establishment of paykes or peons under him, who received the revenue from the potails, exercised an authority over them, and was to his district, in almost every respect, what the potail was to his village. Thus, under the Mohammedan rule, the same system prevailed which, according to the best authenticated traditions, existed long before the Mogul conquest,—the administration of revenue carrying along with it, necessarily and in all cases, the power of a magistrate, and the authority of a judge.

Arrangements such as these are, it must be confessed, diametrically opposed to all the prejudices arising out of an acquaintance with the state of Europe only.

An Englishman, for example, finds it extremely difficult to believe, that a system which intrusts to one and the same man the duty of collecting the revenue, and deciding upon the propriety of that collection, can be a good one; or that justice can be effectually administered by persons possessing no legal power of enforcing obedience.

We are so much accustomed to the checks and balances, to the forms, technicalities, and peculiar arrangements of our own constitution, that

we consider all others as imperfect; and the farther removed they may be from the institutions in which we take so much pride, the louder are we, for the most part, in condemning them. I am not exactly prepared to say, that over the minds of the framers of the judicial and revenue system of 1793, these sentiments had any weight; but experience has proved, that they acted in every particular as if such had been their opinions.

By the regulations of 1793, all power was at once withdrawn from the hands of the natives. The village municipalities and zemindars' jurisdictions were abolished; and the provinces being parcelled out into zillahs or districts, a certain number of Europeans were nominated to take charge of each. These consisted for a while of no more than two functionaries; one of whom was enjoined to confine himself entirely to the collection of the revenue; whilst upon the other devolved the entire charge of hearing and determining all causes, of taking cognizance of all offences, and of regulating all matters of police, throughout a population of perhaps two hundred thousand souls. To aid him in the discharge of his momentous duties, he was furnished with a single European registrar, and a specified number of native assistants, whilst his police consisted of some twenty or thirty hired darogahs, posted at different stations, from one extremity of his zillah to another. But the powers

of the zillah judge were, both in civil and criminal cases, exceedingly limited. He could give no sentence against which appeals were not allowed; whilst with persons accused of offences beyond the pettiest breaches of the peace, he could adopt no summary mode of proceeding. They must be of necessity committed to gaol, there to be kept till the arrival of the Circuit Court, before which, after the manner of the gaol deliveries at home, they were arraigned. In a word, the Judicial system of 1793 swept away by one stroke every institution under which the natives of India had lived for ages, and introduced a mode of acting, as nearly analogous to that pursued in England, as was at all compatible with the circumstances of the two countries.

The immediate consequence of this was, that the collector ceased to be in the slightest degree useful, beyond the mere routine of levying and getting in the taxes; for he was not permitted to decide any dispute even between his own servants and the rayets, all such being cognizable by the judge and magistrate alone. Now it is very obvious, that no human exertions could possibly keep pace with the demands for justice made in this manner, among a people numerous, tenacious of their rights, and proverbially litigious. Had he been authorised to act according to the free and unfettered dictates of his own discretion, the zillah judge would have been quite incompetent

to try and decide all the causes, criminal as well as civil, which arose within his district; but as if it had been the design of those who framed the judicial system, that it should prove as little efficient as possible, the zillah judge was not left to act according to the dictates of his own discretion. A variety of forms were invented, without paying strict attention to which no business could be done: a legal language was introduced entirely unknown to the mass of the people; depositions were required, in all cases, to be taken down in writing; oaths were fabricated, repulsive to the religious prejudices of the community; nay, a distinct class of vakeels or advocates was created, without the intervention of one or more of whom, no suit could be tried, nor any cause determined. As a matter of course, the business of every court fell, under such circumstances, rapidly into arrear, till at last the evil became so glaring, as to demand the application of some immediate remedy.

Perhaps the whole history of legislative proceedings furnishes no parallel to the method now adopted for the purpose of obviating the disproportion which was found to exist between the demand for judicial decisions, and the occasions for them. Instead of simplifying the process, or increasing the number of legal courts, the authorities of the day enacted a regulation, by which certain fees were required to be paid by all per-

sons on the institution of suits; whilst various additional sums were demanded during the progress of these suits, by the imposition of taxes upon the proceedings. In like manner, measures were adopted with a view of facilitating the collection of the revenue, not less novel, though even more iniquitous. It is to be observed, that the parties paying had all along been referred to the regular courts for redress, in case of extortion on the part of the agents of Government, though the latter were authorised to seize and put up for sale the zemindar's estate, in the event of his falling into arrear; whilst the unhappy zemindar was left to enforce his rents from the rayets, by the tedious process of a legal action. After most of the zemindars had fallen victims to this system, the power of summary distraint was extended to that order, and the rayets in their turn suffered all the miseries attendant upon the condition of men placed beyond the protection of the law. No doubt the courts were open to them: they could institute proceedings against the zemindar for oppression; but the expense attending the suit was in many instances heavier than could be borne; whilst the delay in bringing it to a close, rendered it ruinous in all. For, in spite of the late measures, the files of the different courts continued to exhibit a melancholy list of arrears. Appeals, moreover, being permitted from tribunal to tribunal, no man could tell when his cause

would be decided; because no man could tell whither it would be carried by his defeated and irritated opponent.

In this state things remained during many years, vice and misery increasing with a rapidity which set all corrective measures at defiance. It was not that there ever existed the slightest disinclination to administer justice with strictness and assiduity. Whatever may have been the results of their efforts, no person can deny to the judicial servants in India the praise of excellent intentions and great zeal; but the system was one which could not fail to render abortive the most unremitting exertions of such as acted under it. It was to no purpose that partial changes were from time to time effected. The entire scheme being founded on a belief that the natives were unworthy of trust; that they could not be allowed to participate in the labours of administration, except in the most subordinate capacity; that all their institutions were as faulty in practice as they were wrong in theory; and that even Englishmen ought not to be placed in situations where interest and moral rectitude were in danger of clashing, proved utterly unmanageable from the plain and obvious absence of adequate means to direct it aright. There is not space for illustrating the truth of these assertions in a work like the present; but he who desires the most ample information, is referred

to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, than which no abler document has ever been laid before the public.

The Bengal judicial and revenue system made its way slowly, and by degrees, into Madras; in some of the provinces subjected to which, it can scarcely be said to have come into operation so late as 1808. This was not owing to any lack of zeal on the part of its inventors, nor yet to a conviction among the heads of departments at Fort St. George, that the system was imperfect; but the Madras provinces came gradually into our possession, and they were for the most part, when first acquired, managed by men who saw much in the Bengal system to condemn. Canara and the Ceded Districts, for example, two of the most extensive provinces in this part of India, were acquired in, comparatively speaking, modern times; and both from Canara and the Ceded Districts, the new judicial system was, at least for a while, carefully excluded. But no exertions on the part of the collectors could successfully oppose the wishes of the Government for the time being; and not long after Colonel Munro resigned his charge, the new system was introduced into both provinces. The same results follow here which had occurred elsewhere; justice ceased, in a great measure, to be administered, and the increase of crime was appalling.

It is a curious fact, that whilst this state of

things existed, and whilst the records sent home from time to time, by the supreme authorities in India, were filled with ample proofs of its existence, the formal reports from the heads of departments contained little else besides assurances of the "growing prosperity of the country." It is not less extraordinary, that for a long series of years the justice of these assurances was never once questioned, and that the voluminous reports forwarded from the zillah judges and collectors, though teeming with the most important information, were cast aside as so much waste-paper. Happily for the interests of British India, however, a more just notion of what was due both to themselves and to their subjects, was at length excited among the home authorities. Doubts began to be entertained, that matters might not be exactly in the flourishing condition represented. Inquiries were instituted, in consequence, into the contents of documents, too long neglected; and the truth burst upon the minds of those engaged in them, with a force not to be resisted. Finally, the celebrated Fifth Report came out in 1812, which drew towards the affairs of India, other eyes besides those of its immediate rulers, and measures began to be devised for the correction of a system, the inefficiency of which could no longer be denied. Hence arose the Commission of which Colonel Munro was appointed to act as head; a distinction for which his well-known acquaintance with the native

character, and his thorough knowledge both of the new, and of the ancient systems of administration, eminently qualified him.

Whilst this important measure was in progress, a Committee of Directors was formed at the India House, for the purpose of corresponding with the most eminent of the Company's servants then in England, and gathering both their sentiments as to the operation of the judicial system, and their opinions touching certain proposed modifications of it. The answers sent in to the queries of that Committee have all been made public in the Second Volume of Selections, printed by order of the Court; but the peculiar circumstances under which they were drawn up deserves to be known. From the tone assumed in several despatches lately transmitted to India, as well as from other causes, a notion generally prevailed, that it was the intention of the Court not to reform, but to abolish the judicial system; and as no rational man could well stand up as the advocate of so sweeping a measure, it is very little to be wondered at if the civil servants of the Company were decidedly opposed to it. The notion, however, gained additional strength, when the appointment of Colonel Munro, as head commissioner, became known; and there is no longer room to doubt, that not a few of the sentiments published in the volume just referred to, were delivered under an impression that extreme caution was necessary.

If men at home conceived an idea so erroneous, it is not surprising that it should have prevailed to a still greater degree abroad. Interest as well as honour was there brought into play; for the civilians could not but perceive, in the prospect of an overthrow of the system, an abolition of the many lucrative offices which they had hitherto filled; whilst it is fair to state, that a considerable proportion of them, though they saw that the machine worked badly, clung to the hope that in time it would right itself. It was in vain therefore that the Court of Directors, in one despatch after another, assured them that a reform, not a repeal, of existing regulations was intended. They looked upon the Commission as devised to work the entire overthrow of that fabric which had once been designated "a Monument of Human Wisdom;" and they were prepared to throw every impediment in the way of the accomplishment of the task assigned to it.

With such a feeling abroad, it is scarcely necessary to say, that no man would have coveted, that very few would have accepted, the appointment pressed upon Colonel Munro. He saw before him, from the first, only difficulties and crosses; and as the powers of his commission were to expire at the end of three years, he entertained but faint hopes of being permitted to effect one-twentieth part of the benefit which he felt himself capable of effecting. This he stated in a letter to a friend, pre-

vious to his departure from England; and the result proved that, to a certain extent at least, he had not calculated erroneously. Nevertheless he set sail, as has been described,—reached Madras in safety, and took the first opportunity of explaining his own views, as well as those of the Court of Directors. The following valuable paper places the object of the Commission in so true a light, that it ought not to be withheld.

Letter from Col. Munro, First Commissioner, to D. Hill, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government.

24th December, 1814.

SIR,

IN my letter of the 13th instant, I stated that I had carefully examined all the reports from the judges, collectors, and commercial residents, to the Committees of Police, from 1805 to the present year. From these materials very able reports have been framed, both by the late Committee of Police, and by that which preceded it; and both have suggested several important improvements in the existing system of police; but none of these have yet been carried into effect, nor have any of the amendments ordered to be made by the Honourable Court of Directors in their judicial despatch of the 29th of April last, been rendered unnecessary by any late regulations of Government.

2. As the whole subject of that despatch therefore still remains for consideration, it may be proper to submit to the Governor in Council an abstract of its contents; exhibiting under two heads—first, all those matters which Government, after referring to the Sudder Adawlut and subordinate courts for their opinion, are to adopt or reject, as

they think fit; and, secondly, all those on which the order for carrying them into effect is imperative, and no discretion is left with Government; and then to suggest the means by which the proposed alterations may be most readily accomplished.

3. The points which are to be referred to the sudder and subordinate courts for their opinion, and on which Government may exercise their discretion, are as follow:

1st. A revising of the forms of process in the sudder and subordinate courts, "with the view of rendering the proceedings in civil cases as summary as may be compatible with the ends of substantial justice." Under this general injunction, attention is called to the following particulars.

2d. Whether or not the reply and rejoinder may be dispensed with.

3d. Whether "the practice prescribed by Regulation III. 1803, of taking down in writing all depositions, although delivered orally in open court," be necessary or not.

4th. A mature consideration of the subject of employing licensed vakeels "with a view of devising, if it be possible, a remedy for an evil so generally acknowledged."

5th. Whether the restrictions which formerly existed under Regulation II. of 1802, on appeals from the registers and judges of the zillah courts, should not be revised.

6th. Whether the fees and stamp-duties imposed by Regulations IV. V. and XVII. of 1808, have not served to discourage, and ofter to preclude, the fair claimant from applying to our judicatories.

7th. What is the amount of the sum within which the execution of the judgment pronounced by the village potail, or punchayet, should not be stayed by appeal to the zillah court?

8th. Cases in which the principal zemindars may "be intrusted with the powers of an agent of police."

9th. Whether or not it would conduce "to the more prompt and convenient administration of criminal justice, if the zillah judges were to be so far invested with a jurisdiction in criminal matters, as to enable them to hear and determine all cases of public offence not of a capital nature, and now cognizable by the courts of circuit only."

10th. Whether the same important end would not "be materially furthered, were the collectors, acting as the magistrates of zillahs, to be empowered to punish offenders by corporal punishment, to the extent of thirty rattans; by fine, not exceeding one hundred Arcot rupees; and by imprisonment, not of longer duration than three months."

11th. Whether or not "the collector should be associated with the zillah judge, in the trial of offences at quarterly sessions."

12th. Whether "the sentence of the Provincial Courts of Circuit may not be carried into immediate execution, without a reference to the Nizamut Adawlut, when the guilt is clearly established, and there seems to the circuit judge no ground for recommending the prisoner to mercy; and, with the same view of expediting the administration of the criminal law, whether the present forms of proceeding in the court of circuit will not admit of simplification, consistently with the substantial ends of justice."*

The following are the points of modification in the judicial system, on which the order for carrying them into execution is positive, and in which no other discretionary authority is left with Government, than merely as to the manner in which this is to be done.

* This has reference to a regulation, which required that no capital sentence should be carried into execution till the proceedings of the trial had been revised by the highest legal court in the Presidency.

1st. "No further appeal to be permitted from a decision of a zillah court, or an appeal from the register, or from any native tribunal."

2nd. Village punchayets to be authorised to hear and determine suits.

3d. The potail, or head of the village, "by virtue of his office, to execute the functions of commissioner within his village, in the several modes prescribed by the Regulations."

4th. Intermediate native judicatures between the village and zillah court to be established, "and to be invested with a jurisdiction over a certain number of villages, so as that there may be three, four, or five in a zillah; and the judges to receive a fixed salary in addition to a fee on the institution of suits brought before them."

The order for the establishment of these native judicatures, though not absolutely unconditional, is so far positive, that nothing but some very serious obstacle is to prevent its execution.

5th. "The punchayet on a larger scale than that of the village, so as to have a greater selection of persons" to be employed under the native district judge.

6th. Suits brought under the cognizance of the potails and curnums to be altogether "relieved from fees and stamp-duties."

7th. The sudder to receive from the subordinate courts, and furnish Government with yearly or half-yearly reports of the nature and number of suits, "in which the following particulars are to be stated."

1st. The number of suits instituted in each court now existing, or hereafter created, decided or dismissed, appealed or not; to what court, confirmed or reversed.

2nd. Original and appellate courts to show original and appeal suits, and proportion of appeals reversed or confirmed.

3d. Average value of matter litigated; nature of the dispute; situation of the parties, particularly in cases of land; whether paying rent to Government, or zemindar, or other holders of land.

8th. The village police, agreeably to the usage of the country, to be re-established in the zemindary countries, and placed under the orders and control of the magistrate; and "in such other parts of the Madras possessions in which it may be found neglected, or in a mutilated condition, to be also restored to its former efficiency."

9th. On the completion of the village police, the darogah establishment and the police corps to be reduced as far as practicable.

10th. The superintendence of the village and zillah police to be transferred to the collector.

11th. The police of districts to be under the teshildar instead of the darogah.

12th. "The agents of the collector in the administration of the police, will be the district amildars, or teshildars, and the village potails, curnums, and talliars, aided, as occasion may require, by the amildars' peons, and by the cutwalls and their peons, in large towns."

13th. The office of zillah magistrate to be transferred to the collector.

14th. The enforcement of the pattah* regulation to be secured by an adequate process, under the superintendence of the collector in his magisterial capacity.

15th. "No demand of a zemindar, &c. for arrears of rent, should be receivable in any court but upon a pattah."

16th. No zemindar to be at liberty to proceed to sell under distraint, without an order from the collector.

The pattah was a species of lease which the zemindar was required to grant to the rayet, and which secured to the latter the possession of his farm as long as he paid his rent.

17th. Cases of disputed boundaries to be decided by the collector, on the verdict of a punchayet.

5. The above abstract exhibits all the alterations in the judicial system which the Court of Directors have either ordered to be taken into consideration, or to be carried into execution by Government: of this last class, by far the most important one is the transfer of the police and magisterial duties from the zillah judge to the collector; and as all the rest are subordinate to and dependent upon this, it must necessarily be carried into effect before any one of them can be brought forward. I would therefore recommend that the court of Sudder Adawlut should be directed to prepare without delay a regulation for transferring the office of magistrate and superintendent of the police from the zillah judge to the collector. It would perhaps be advisable, that this regulation should be as short as possible—should be free from all details, and should simply authorize the transfer, and leave the collector, as magistrate, to be guided by the existing regulations. A more comprehensive regulation, containing all the rules which it may be deemed expedient to insert, may be framed hereafter; but no time should be lost in issuing the short one proposed.

6. After investing the collector with the authority of magistrate, the court of Sudder Adawlut might be directed to prepare regulations to give effect to the other arrangements ordered by the Court of Directors, proceeding in the order of their relative importance. The first regulation on this principle, therefore, should be one for restoring the management of the village police to the heads of villages, and of the district police to the teshildars or amildars, under the collector; the second should be a regulation for constituting heads of villages, by virtue of their office, native commissioners, and for the direction of village punchayets. The third should be a regulation for the

appointment and guidance of native district judges, or commissioners, and district punchayets.

The fourth should be a regulation authorizing the collector, as magistrate, to enforce the pattah regulations.

The fifth should be a regulation to prevent zemindars and proprietors of land from distraining without the authority of the collector.

The sixth should be a regulation placing the decision of the cases of disputed boundaries, alluded to in Regulation XXXII. of 1802, in the hands of the collector.

These six regulations, together with the one for transferring the authority of magistrate to the collector, will comprise all the points in which the orders from home are positive, and which therefore require immediate attention. After they are finished, the other articles, which embrace a revision of the process of the civil and criminal courts, the granting of criminal jurisdiction to the zillah judge, and the associating of the collector with him at the Quarterly Sessions, on which subjects the instructions of the Court of Directors are not absolute but conditional, may be taken into consideration. I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS MUNRO,
First Commissioner.

Such were Colonel Munro's views of the measures necessary to give effect to our judicial system. With what spirit they were regarded by the authorities of Fort St. George, the following series of letters will best explain.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Madras, 20th January, 1815.

THE last letter from your son John and myself would have apprised you, that the business of the Commission

is likely to encounter a good deal of delay in the beginning. Mr. Elliot received an impression, very soon after his arrival, that every thing was in the best possible state; that an approximation had been gradually making of late years to the system proposed in the judicial dispatch of the 29th April, 1814; that much of it had, in fact, been anticipated; that more could hardly be done without danger; that great improvements had taken place since I left India; and that were I now to visit the districts, I would abandon all my former opinions, and acknowledge that the collector could not be entrusted with the magisterial and police duties, without injury to the country. Though I knew that there was no foundation for these assertions, it appeared to me necessary to wade through all the police reports, and the proceedings of the Committee, in order that I might be enabled to assure Mr. Elliot, not as an opinion of my own, but as a fact drawn from these documents, that things remained just as they were seven years ago. After going through them, I found that the present Police Committee had not ventured to go so far as its predecessor in 1806. That Committee proposed to place the police under the collector; but this proposal having been rejected by the Bengal Government, as contrary to the Regulations, the present one has contented itself with recommending that the police shall remain under the zillah judge, but that the heads of villages shall be employed instead of darogahs. The President of this Committee persists strenuously in maintaining its doctrines. It was very natural that he should do so, while the Bengal Government supported the infallibility of the Regulations. But when the Court of Directors had given up this point, I hoped that he might have relaxed too. I however see little chance of such a change.

The President is undoubtedly a shrewd, intelligent man; but he has spent his life in the commercial depart-

ment, excepting a few months that he was a circuit judge. He has therefore only that general knowledge of the inhabitants, of local institutions, and of revenue details, which any sensible man may derive from reading and conversation: he is totally without experience. It is therefore very reluctantly that, in compliance with the wishes of Mr. Elliot, I have two or three times met him, in order to discuss the subject of Police. I feel as if I were conversing with a well-informed Captain of an Indiaman, who has all that general knowledge of India which can be derived from books, or a short residence on the sea-coast.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated 12th January, 1815.

I HAVE been chiefly engaged, since my arrival here, in reading the police reports of the last three years, and the proceedings upon them, in order to ascertain whether any measures had been founded upon them, which might render unnecessary any of those directed to be adopted by the judicial despatch of the 29th April, 1814. After losing much time in going through them, I found that nothing had been done which was not known in England, when I left home. You are aware, that most of the men in office about the Presidency are Regulation-men, stickling for every part of the present system, and opposers of every reform of it from home.

One of the most important benefits that will accrue to the inhabitants, from appointing the collector magistrate, will be the prevention of distraint. Many rayets are now with me on this subject, from the Baramahl and the Ceded Districts. The exactions of many of the mootadars are carried to a most ruinous extent, and cannot be prevented by the courts. I sent an old rayet, of eighty years of age, from the Baramahl, to Mr. Cochrane yesterday,

to take down his case, for the information of the members of the Revenue Board, who believe that our rayets are protected by our courts. He gives a very clear statement of his case: he has paid his rent regularly during seven years, and within that period has been compelled by different distraints to pay more than double his rent. He has given in two petitions to the court at Salim, for two different cases, one five years, and the other three years ago; he has paid deposit-fees, stamps, &c. and visits the court almost every month; but the number of his first petition has not yet come round. Under a collector-magistrate, the injury could not have happened.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated 1st March, 1815.

I HAVE not written you since my arrival, because there has been nothing done to write about. I have written fully to Mr. Sullivan, explaining the cause of the delay. I am not now, as when I was in the Ceded Districts, acting without interference, and authorized to pursue whatever measures I thought best for the settlement of the country; but am obliged, before I can take a single step, to wait for the concurrence of men who have always been adverse to the proposed changes. The Government, with its secretaries, the Sudder Adawlut, and its register, and every member of the Board of Revenue, excepting Cochrane, are hostile to every thing in the shape of the rayetwar system. * * *

I think it necessary to caution you, that if it is expected that instructions are to be obeyed, the strongest and plainest words must be used: for instance, the expressions,—"It is our wish;"—"It is our intention;"—"We propose;" do not, it is maintained here, convey orders, but merely recommendations. Unless the words, "We di-

rect,"—"We order," are employed, the measures to which they relate will be regarded as optional.

* * * *

You will observe, that during two successive years, there was not one appeal decided in the Sudder Adawlut; and that the judges of the subordinate courts seldom complied with the order of deciding ten causes monthly. Mr. ——, who was long a zillah judge, proposed that the zillah judges should be directed to transmit a report monthly or quarterly, exhibiting in different columns the date in each suit, of the complaint, answer, and of such document being filed. This would have shown at one view, the progress of every trial, and where the delay arose; but it was rejected, as instituting too severe a scrutiny into the conduct of the judges, and the accompanying paper substituted in its room.

I shall in a future letter explain the cause of the diminution of suits. You know very well that it does not proceed from the increased number of suits settled. But the great defect is, that no protection is afforded to the rayets. Those who do not know them, say that the courts are open; but when it is considered that rayets, on an average, do not pay above seven or eight pagodas rent, and that this sum is from one-half to one-third of the gross produce of their farms; any person may at once see how incapable such men must be of going to courts of justice. But even among those rayets who are more substantial, every person who has been much among them, knows that not one in ten will ever complain of the extra collections and extortions of renters: they are deterred by many considerations,—by the fear of not being able to bring proof, and by the dread of the renter's influence being exerted to injure them, whenever an opportunity offers. In order to protect rayets, it is not enough to wait for their complaints, we must go round and seek for them. This was

the practice of every vigilant collector; he assembled the rayets of each village on his circuit, inquired what extra collections had been made, and caused them to be refunded. A renter who has four or five hundred rayets under him, imposes an extra assessment of ten or twelve per cent., and collects it, without difficulty or opposition, in the course of a few days. Suppose they should complain afterwards, which is seldom the case, the process of the court would occupy many months, probably some years, and they would be obliged to abandon their suit, from not being able, from their poverty, to wait its issue. An English farmer, or shopkeeper, would not pay an unauthorized assessment of ten or twelve per cent. above his rent; and people who make regulations in this country, scarcely seem to know, that rayets are not English farmers; and that, in general, they pay every exaction, without resistance and almost without complaint. Even if there were any spirit of resistance to such demands, it would be effectually suppressed by the power of distraint. This power is directed by the judicial despatch to be taken away; and many of the higher class of rayets will, in consequence, be encouraged to resist undue demands; but the great body of the rayets will still submit to them quietly. It will require a long course of years, perhaps ages, before they acquire sufficient courage and independence to resist; and until this change is effected, our present courts cannot protect them. We must adapt our institutions to their character; they can be protected only by giving to the collector authority to investigate extra collections, and to cause them to be refunded. I hope that Lord Buckinghamshire will take up this subject, and make the necessary orders be sent out. From an expression in a letter from Mr. Sullivan to his son, he seems to think that the Commission have authority to inquire into the revenue settlements. The despatch certainly gives no authority of this

kind. The Commission, however, has a kind of indirect control in revenue matters; for, in examining how far the courts protect the rayets, the inquiry will lead to the knowledge of their being compelled to pay extra assessments. Since my return to India, I have had visits from several rayets from the Baramahl and Ceded Districts on this subject; and I have reason to believe that these demands are more general than before the establishment of the courts.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 3d March, 1815.

I WROTE you on the 1st instant, mentioning the general state of affairs here. I have since then seen Mr. Gahagan, one of the late collectors in the Ceded Districts, and now one of the circuit judges of the Chittoor Court. He concurs in my opinion, that the courts cannot protect the rayets, and that unauthorized collections are greater since their institution than before, and that the evil can only be remedied, by giving to the collector authority to investigate and recover extra assessments from zemindars and renters. Every man who has been a rayetwar collector, knows that these exactions are made every where; but no man who has not been one, believes it possible, with so many courts open.

The inhabitants are yet unacquainted with the object of the Commission; but the universal opinion is, that it is appointed chiefly for the investigation of abuses in the revenue line. I do not undeceive them; for the belief has very good effects, as it deters the native head-servants from peculating to so great an amount as formerly; induces some of them to refund; and is at this moment, I believe, causing the cutcherry servants of Coimbitore to bring forward in the accounts of this year, lands which, though

cultivated, have for some years been reported as waste. The rent of these lands, as stated by the people who bring forward the charges, is considerably above a lac of pagodas. As far as I can guess, from many communications with them, and making allowance for exaggeration, it may be about sixty thousand. The Board of Revenue, with the exception of Cochrane, believe that the whole statement is false. There is both falsehood and truth in it. Cochrane proposes that I should inquire into it in the course of my circuit; but this was objected to. The members of Government are also averse to my having any thing to do with it; so that I am afraid I shall not be permitted to make an investigation. If I can find any means of doing it in part, as connected with defects in the judicial system, I shall endeavour to carry it, so far at least as to show that the revenue has been defrauded to a considerable extent, and that those triennial and decennial leases afford great facilities for such practices.

Extract of a Letter from Col. Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 14th March, 1815.

No orders have yet been issued for carrying into effect the instructions contained in the judicial despatch of the 29th April, 1814; and the Commission consequently still remains at Madras.

Mr. Elliot tells me that the resolutions of Government on the subject are printing for circulation, and that they correspond nearly with my view of it, except in not transferring the office of magistrate to the collector; but this is the most essential part of the whole, for without it, the collector will be merely the head darogah of police under the zillah judge; and the new system will be completely inefficient. No time should therefore be lost in sending out, by the first conveyance, a short letter, stating

the heads of alterations in the present system, which are imperative and not optional with the Government here; and ordering them, not recommending, to be carried into immediate execution.

I have fully explained, in my letter to Mr. Sullivan, my reason for wishing to have only one person joined with me in the Commission, and to have him also an acting member of the Sudder Adawlut. It was evident, that while both the members of the Sudder Adawlut objected to every change, every measure which the Commission might propose to Government, when sent to that court to be brought forward as a regulation, would be kept back under some plea or other; and that while the Sudder Adawlut was dilatory and irregular in its own proceedings, no reform could be expected in those of the lower courts.

You will observe, that in the two years 1812 and 1813, there was not a single appeal decided. I have looked at some of the appeal cases, and am sorry to say that much of the litigation is occasioned by the judges being in general very ignorant of the customs of the natives, and of the internal management of villages. This arises from very few of them having been rayetwar collectors. I shall mention two cases which I read the other day.

The first originated in the zillah court of Trichinopoly, in 1808. It was a suit instituted by some Bramins, to recover from the rayets of a village 1800 Rs., for their share of the crop, as Swami Bhogum, or proprietor's right. The rayets asserted that the contribution was not as proprietor's share, but voluntary to a pagoda. The curnum's accounts, which would probably have settled the matter, were refused by the judge in evidence, and the plaintiff cast. The Provincial Court reversed the sentence, and gave them a decree; not only for the money which they claimed, but for the land, which they did not claim. The Sudder Court ordered the whole proceedings of both

courts to be annulled, leaving the parties to pay their respective costs, and begin *de novo*, if they please.

The second is a suit brought by a relation, in the fifth or sixth degree, of the Poligar of Wariourpollam, to receive from the poligar an allowance in land or money, on account of his hereditary share of the pollam. He carries his cause in the Zillah and Provincial Court, and the sentence of the sudder is not yet given; but I see, on the back of the paper, in ———'s handwriting, "I think the decree of the Provincial Court is right." Now I am positive that they are all completely wrong.

This cause, which has been going on for six years, would have been settled by a collector in half an hour. Indeed, the plaintiff would not have ventured to bring his case before a collector; for among the military zemindars, such as Wariourpollam, Calastry, Venkatgherry, &c., the nearest relatives, and far less the more distant, have no claim to the inheritance. The poligar usually gives to his brothers, &c., an allowance for their support, according to his own pleasure, not to any right. The plaintiff, I have no doubt, has been instigated by some vakeels to make the demand; for whatever happens, his fees are secure. The irregularity and negligence of some of the courts has been so glaring, that the sudder has been obliged to stimulate them by a circular letter. Stratton* wished to have established a more effectual check, by making them send reports showing the date of the institution of each suit, and of every document filed; but though he could not carry this, and will often be obliged to satisfy himself with a protest, his exertions will make all the courts more active.

This gentleman was especially selected by Colonel Munro to co-operate with him in the Commission. It was not without much demur that his wishes were acceded to.

The Commission too, though it has not yet begun to act, does yet some good by its presence; for it is generally believed among the natives that it is authorized to inquire into all abuses, both in the judicial and revenue line; and this opinion has some influence in checking them. I have had rayets with me from almost every part of the country, with complaints; but I have no direct authority to inquire into revenue abuses. I can only take them up where they are connected with the judicial system.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 9th April, 1815.

* * * *

No regulations for village courts are to be framed, until it is ascertained whether the potails are willing to act. Who before ever heard of statesmen asking public servants, whether they are willing to do their duty? The question will surprise the potails much more than me, who know the men from whom it comes. No regulation for village police is to be drawn up, till we know whether the potails are fit for the duty, and whether the tallaries are sufficiently numerous. The Native Governments never doubted the fitness of the potails; nor our own, till now. Who is to decide the point of their competency, if it is not admitted to have been established by universal practice? for there is not a man about Government, and scarcely ten men in the provinces, who know the difference between a potail and a weaver. With regard to the tallaries, they have been working at them for ten years, without having learned much; and they may go on for ten longer, to as little purpose: for, how can it be otherwise, seeing that such inquiries were not made in many of the provinces before the permanent settlement, and, since that period, cannot be made with any effect, from their having rendered

the curnums, in a great degree, independent of the revenue servants. In some districts, so far from knowing all the details of tallaries' allowances, I doubt if the collector knows the number of curnums, or even of villages, under him. To enable him to learn these matters, the curnums' regulation should be repealed, and the curnums should be placed entirely under the collectors. Even after this is done, some years will be required to enable the collector to establish his authority, and to procure the information wanted. But, rather than adopt this simple, and indeed only way, of accomplishing the object, they will go on calling upon the collector for more information, who can only send them a copy of what they have got some years ago; or they will avail themselves of the judicial power, and issue a decree of the courts to compel the curnums to produce his accounts, who may produce what he likes, for there is not a soul about the court who can tell whether they are true or false.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 20th June, 1815.

I HAVE received your letter of the 4th October last, inclosing extract from Mr. Colebrooke's minute, &c. on the 19th April. I have been busy ever since the 15th May in drawing up Regulations for potails, punchayets, &c. I could do nothing sooner; because it was only then that the answer of Government was received, informing the Commission that the regulations were to be prepared, on the principle that the police only, and not the magisterial office, was to be transferred to the collector. The regulations ordered to be prepared by the Commission, are ready; Mr. Stratton is looking over, correcting, and copying them fair, and they will be sent next week; that is to say, they will be sent to the Sudder Adawlut; for all regula-

tions must be transmitted through that channel. The Sudder Adawlut may keep them some months before they submit them, with their remarks, to Government.

* * * * * *

The regulations are not exactly what I think they ought to be. I would have wished to have given greater authority both to potails and teshildars, as well as to commissioners. But it was necessary to limit the powers of these officers within narrow limits; for otherwise, the regulations would not pass here, and would certainly be thrown out by the Bengal Government. The great object is to get the system introduced in any way; when this is once effected, the necessary changes can easily be made hereafter. You already know that the Commission is composed only of Stratton and myself. It is quite enough; for the more members, the less is done. I wished on this account to have been sole Commissioner; but I see now, that nothing could be done without a member of the Sudder Adawlut in the Commission; for, unless Stratton were in that court, there would not be a single man there, or in the Government, to support the proposed changes. He will be opposed by both the other members; but still their opposition will be much less determined than it would have been, had he not been present to dissent from their opinions.

I wished, while the regulations are under consideration here, and in Bengal, to have made a circuit through the country, in order to inquire into the state of the village police; the effects of the judicial system in protecting the inhabitants from oppression, and also how far it was calculated, along with the leasing and permanent settlement system, to secure the rayets from extra assessments, and the revenue from embezzlement. But I see little chance of being permitted to enter into these inquiries efficiently, or in such a manner as to render them useful. Were I now

collector of the Ceded Districts, or of any other district, I should be able to bring forward more information in three months, than I shall now in three years as Commissioner. Look at the orders of Government in their consultation of 1st March, 1815, to the Commission, in which we are directed "to conduct all such investigations through the local officers, to conform to the established system of internal administration;" and compare these orders with those to Thackeray and Hodgson, when they made their circuits, by the command of Lord William Bentinck. How am I to learn any thing, if I am limited to a consultation with the local officers? If they possess the information required, they may be called upon to furnish it, without my going to them. If they have it not, they will hardly assist me to acquire it; and to perform the duty which they have themselves neglected. The Commission ought certainly to have the same means of investigation that a collector has; and, for this purpose, the collector and magistrate ought to give notice to the heads of villages, curnums, and inhabitants, that they are to give information on any points on which it may be required from them by the Commission.

The Minute of Government, and the Letters to Government from the Commission, have been circulated to all magistrates and collectors, so that they must see how Government feels, when it cautions the Commission "to conform to the established system of internal administration," or, in other words, not to break the peace. Great abuses have prevailed, I believe, in Coimbitore, and some other collectorates; and I should like much to investigate the Coimbitore proceedings, in order to show Government, either that they are well-founded or not; but my being employed in the investigation will be opposed by almost every person in the different Boards here: because the abuses have chiefly arisen out of the leasing system, which they

have supported. Chaplin, Ross, and one or two other rayetwar collectors, are the only persons in the country qualified to conduct such an inquiry; but they cannot be spared from their own districts; and if the inquiry is confided to two or three respectable senior servants, it will end in nothing being proved against the revenue servants of the collector, and in the inhabitants being convicted of a conspiracy, and in being consigned over to be plundered hereafter, without any hope of redress. When the Commission was first appointed, the general belief among the inhabitants was, that it would inquire into revenue abuses as well as the defects of the judicial system; and this opinion created a considerable alarm among all the cutcherries whose conduct had been incorrect; but the alarm has now, I imagine, completely subsided. I lament that the Commission will not be able to do one-half of what, might reasonably have been expected; but, unless the Bengal Government opposes every change, I hope that we shall at least be able to establish the village police and punchayets. If the collector is to be magistrate, a positive order must be sent from home; for you will see from the correspondence that there is no chance of the measure being otherwise adopted.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 1st September, 1815.

WE have made no progress here since I wrote you in June last. The resolutions of Government of the 1st of March, and my letters, will have informed you how little has been done; that no one thing has been finally done; that different points of the judicial despatch have been referred to the Sudder Adawlut, the Board of Revenue, and the Commission; that they are respectively to call upon the local officers for their opinions

on certain points, and that they are then to frame the regulations.

These regulations, when framed, will be some months with the Sudder Adawlut, who will report upon them to Government, and Government will then send them to Bengal for the sanction of the Supreme Government. Some months will elapse, before their sanction is granted; they must then be translated, which will consume some months more; and by the time they can be circulated to all the districts, the Commission will have expired. The six regulations drawn up by the Commission, have been with the Sudder Adawlut about two months; and it is quite uncertain how much longer they may remain with them. Only one will be circulated, without reference to Bengal; it is that which transfers the police, but not the office of magistrate, to the collector; and will not do any good. The Council will oppose the promulgation of the rest, without the authority of the Supreme Government. They will therefore be sent to Bengal; and as Lord Moira proposes that the two Governments should deliberate maturely on the whole subject of the judicial dispatch, and "avail themselves of the advantages of a mutual interchange of sentiments and suggestions, in the course of the deliberations respecting so serious an object," it may be some years before they are issued. Why should we amuse ourselves with interchanges of sentiments, on things which have undergone a ten years' discussion, and which the Government at home has directed to be adopted? or of what use can it be, to import sentiments from Bengal, on punchayets and potails, which most of the public servants under that Presidency profess never to have heard of? I see no way of enabling the Commission to answer any of the objects of its institution, but by sending out orders without delay to the Government here, to carry into immediate execution, without reference to, or waiting for an

answer from Bengal to any reference that may have been made, all those modifications on which the Government at home have already made up their mind.

The proposed changes have many opponents; because there are only a few collectors who understand the nature of them, from not having seen potails and punchayets employed, before the introduction of the judicial code; they are opposed by many in the judicial line, who consider the present system, whatever it may be, as the best. They are opposed by some, from a sincere conviction that native agency is dangerous; and by some, because they have had no share in suggesting them; but the best-founded motive of opposition is one which has only lately appeared, namely, the probability that the natives will give so much preference to the settlement of laws by heads of villages and punchayets, as to leave so little business to the zillah courts, that many of them will be reduced. I do not believe that this would happen soon; because it will be a considerable time before the plan can be completely communicated to the natives, and the neglect or silent opposition it is likely to encounter will subside. But I am certain this result will follow, whenever it meets with proper support. In the outset, we shall have complaints from the judges of the ignorance of the potails and punchayets, their partiality and corruption. This will often be true; but the evil will be greatly overbalanced by the good. I only wish to see the plan introduced in any state, however imperfect,—its defects can be gradually corrected; and I am convinced that, under every disadvantage, it will work its own way.

It was my intention, if there had been time enough, to have visited every district under the Madras Government, in order to have ascertained upon the spot the opinions of the people respecting the judicial system; but this will now be impossible, as a whole year of the life of the Commission has already nearly elapsed.

I should have begun with Chittoor, and then taken up my old Baramahl friends and Coimbitore, in both of which, but particularly in Coimbitore, great abuses prevail. I think that, in our conversations at home, I have mentioned that the leases would induce the collector's servants and head inhabitants to keep down the cultivation, and to depress it still more by false accounts, and that Government would thus lose a large portion of revenue, without relieving, in any degree, the pressure upon the great body of the rayets. All this has happened in Coimbitore, and, with a few exceptions, in every district into which the decennial lease has been introduced. Coimbitore would be the first field that could possibly be found for examining the effects both of the judicial and the new revenue system, for the court servants have been tried and convicted of a conspiracy against the revenue; and the judge has now reported that the revenue have conspired against the court servants; I have therefore been wishing for some time past to go there, but I have great doubts of obtaining permission, as almost every man in office here is against my being sent. They have in general maintained that there were no abuses, and that the leases were settled with great correctness; but now that the reports of the assistant collector Bell have stated the contrary, they are unwilling to put such arguments into my hands as I should find there. I enclose you a document from the Sudder Adawlut, by which you will see that they did not decide one appeal for nearly three years. When Stratton was appointed, there were many petitions of two or three years' standing, which had not been answered.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 6th October, 1815.

Our regulations have been in the hands of Greenway three months, and may remain there as much

longer, if Mr. Elliot does not call for them and publish them, without a reference to Bengal, which his council wish him to adopt. Even if he take this line, they cannot be translated and promulgated in less than six months. If they go to Bengal, they will never pass, at least not in the lifetime of the Commission. Had the Council adopted the plan of the Court of Directors contained in the judicial despatch of the 29th of April, 1814, the regulations might have been passed before this time, and we might now have been looking at the effect of them, and supporting them where we found they met with opposition. You will see that, if they are kept back until the information required by the Government consultations of the 1st of March is furnished, they can never pass, because that information can only be got from a district which has been surveyed and settled, Ryotwar; and even not completely, from such a district. The public correspondence will show you the cause of my going to Coimbitore; it is to assist John Sullivan in discovering the cause of the abuses which have been committed, and the means of restoring order.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 30th April, 1816.

THE Commissioners' proposed regulations may now be considered as passed, as the Governor means to put their passing to the vote on the 3d instant. They will be opposed in Council, upon the grounds which I long ago stated—the necessity of waiting for all the heads of information required by the resolutions of the 1st March, 1815, together with a report from the Commission of the potails and tallaries fit or unfit, willing or unwilling, to execute the duties expected of them; and of those referring the regulations to Bengal for sanction, previous to their being promulgated here. The information which was sought, seemed to be required merely for the purpose of wasting

time. No man who knew any thing of potails or tallaries, ever thought of asking them whether or not they liked their duty. As to their allowances being in many cases inadequate, it might be made the subject of future inquiry; but was no ground for suspending the introduction of the proposed system. A police committee had been sitting in 1812 to 1814, and had called for all the statements of allowances that the collectors could furnish. A fresh call was not likely to produce any thing beyond another copy of what had already been forwarded. That committee recommended that the police should be placed under the heads of villages. But it is now thought, that these same heads of villages may not be willing or able to act, because they may, in addition to their police and revenue duties, have two or three ten-rupee causes to settle in the course of the year.

There is nothing in the Court's letter respecting the allowances or inclinations of the potails or tallaries, or authorizing the keeping back the regulations until an inquiry shall have been made into these matters. The ascertainment of the allowances in question could only be accurately made by a survey, which would be the work of many years. When collectors of unsurveyed districts report that tallaries have only three or four rupees a-year, we cannot be sure whether they have three or four, or thirty or forty. The accounts are too vague to be depended upon. The answer to all this is, that whether the tallarie has four rupees or forty, he is at his post, doing his duty; and it seems therefore quite unnecessary to make the introduction of the village police depend upon the answers he may give to our questions, about his liking his duty or his allowances. In many places, the allowances are too small; because we have stopped a part of them; in others, they also appear to be too small; where no change has been made, and the tallaries are said to be starving; but as they have been starving

in the same way for a century, and still do the village duty, they have undoubtedly the means of living, either from land at a favourable rent, or some other source, which has escaped the collectors; and if we wait until it is discovered by them, we shall be just where we now are ten years hence.

The Police Committee, though they proposed that the police should be placed under the heads of villages, never attempted to define what the head of a village was. Different opinions were entertained on this point among the people at the Presidency; but nothing was fixed. The Commission have defined what they thought must; under the various changes occasioned by our revenue system, be considered as the head of the village; but because this definition does not suit all opinions, the whole system is violently opposed, upon the plea that the Commissioners, head of the village is not the potail of the Court of Directors. It was never maintained by the rayetwar collectors, that the establishment of village servants was complete and uniform throughout the country; and that there were ancient hereditary potails in every village. They described the general structure of the village municipality, as it ought to be when complete, and as it still existed throughout the greater part of India; but they mentioned that in many places it had been violently broken down, and in others neglected, and suffered to fall into decay; but that it might be gradually restored, and that enough still remained, almost every where, for carrying on every necessary duty. The Commission have said, wherever the ancient or modern potail is in office, he is the head of the village; and that where there is no potail in office, the person, however he may be designated, who comes nearest to the description of the potail, by exercising the same powers, is the head of the village. The Sudder Adawlut and their friends say, that this is a departure from the plan of the

Court of Directors; who looked forward to a potail, not to a renter or a renter's agent, or a stipendiary corrupt agent, as the head of the village. To this we answer, that we must take what we have; if we cannot get the best, we must take the next best; that our permanent and lease settlements have in some cases abolished the office of potail, and included his enaums in the rental, and in others have resumed a part of his enaum, and set him aside to make way for a renter; that you cannot restore the potails without violating your engagements, and throwing the village into confusion; because, if the potails were suffered to exercise any authority over the servants of the village, they would form a party in opposition to the renter, and prevent the collection of the rents, and the servants would be under two masters; that whether a man is called a renter or a stipendiary agent, is nothing to the purpose; that if he is the collector of the revenue, has the charge of the village servants, and directs the affairs of the village, he is the head of the village, and is for the time the real potail; that this renter is, in many cases, the old potail, and that even the stipendiary agent will often be merely a new title for the old potail acting for a distant renter. All this has been fully stated in our report; and will, I hope, be understood at home. When we speak of a potail, we must attend to reality, and not to the name. If we were to insist on employing only the ancient potails, we should be obliged to look out for the obscure descendants of above a thousand of them dismissed under the Mysore Government, and remove an equal number of more modern potails, who have been acting from twenty to fifty years. The inconveniences however of renters, and the agents of renters acting as potails, will not be so great as might at first sight be expected. It will not apply to one-tenth of the territory under Madras, and even in that portion it will diminish every day, as many of the renters are constantly fail-

ing, and the villages reverting to the old potails. With regard to the great zemindaries of the northern circars and the western pollams, we can have very little internal control, whether the villages are under old or new heads; but even there, I am satisfied that by far the greatest proportion of the villages is in the hands of old potails. I found it so in the great zemindaries of Chittoor and Harpenhilly; and I see no reason to believe that the case is different in other quarters. It is evident that no person can be the village moonsif who is not the head of the village. The head of the village is the person who commands the village servants, directs the cultivation, and collects the revenue; revenue and agriculture are his constant employment. Police is also one of his duties, but is only a casual one. Justice is still more casual; for it may sometimes happen, that not a single suit will come before him in the whole year. The only practicable course seems therefore to be, to let the performance of this contingent duty belong to the potail *ex officio*, for it certainly could not be discharged by any other person, by whatever title he might be called; because he could have no authority over the village servants. The Sudder Adawlut conclude their long remarks upon our drafts, by proposing that a selection shall be made from the potails for the office of village moonsif, so as to give to each a circle of from ten to twenty miles. This is evidently a second edition of the Native-Commissioner Regulation. They propose that the selection shall be made from those potails who are pointed out as most fit, by the references of the people to their decisions. They do not seem to be aware that upon their own doctrine, and that of most of the subordinate judges, the discovery of the proper persons could never be made in this way; for they maintain, that the natives have so little confidence in each other, that they cannot be prevailed upon to submit to arbitration; and

while they retain this distrust, it is not easy to conceive how the voice of the people is to point out the persons whom they wish to have as arbitrators. The simplest and wisest, and indeed the only mode that can be safely adopted, is, that of constituting the potail *ex-officio* village judge, as ordered from home. The appointment cannot be made by selection, in the way proposed; and even if it could by any other, *it* would be effected by bribery and intrigue among the servants of the zillah court, which the judge would be unable to prevent. It may be supposed, that the same talent which enables the *ex-officio* potail to manage the revenue of his village, will qualify him to decide two or three ten or five-rupee suits in the year, or to refer them to a punchayet. But suppose it does not, it is of no great consequence; the parties can go to another potail. In the same way, when the potail is supposed to be partial or corrupt, the parties will go somewhere else. We shall have from the potails hundreds of decisions contrary to form; many that are wrong in judgment, and many perhaps that are corrupt; and much clamour will be raised about them; but still the evil will be trifling in proportion to the good, and will gradually be corrected by the people not applying to potails of bad character. The great advantages of the village regulations are, that they do not touch the existing judicial system, but leave it to go on as before. Every inhabitant, therefore, who does not like the potail or punchayet, has still the benefit of all the existing code, as it is optional with him either to resort to the village authorities or to the regular courts. Which of these are best suited to the wants of the inhabitants must be left to their own decision. The experience of a few years will show to which they give the preference.

Another argument which has been brought against the village regulations is, that they do not apply to those villages

and districts which are managed by renters and agents, instead of regular potails; and that to introduce them into such places is contrary to the intention of the Court of Directors. There is every where a head of a village who manages its affairs; and it would certainly be absurd to say that the inhabitants are not to have justice at home, but must go to a distant court, merely because this head man does not correspond with the idea which some people have formed of a regular potail.

I do not know that any of the men who so stoutly oppose the present modifications, have ever suggested any thing for the improvement of the revenue or judicial system, though they have adopted without hesitation whatever has come from Bengal. They are much alarmed lest a corrupt village judge should contaminate the purity of the judicial system; and they tremble at the unknown consequences of his oppressions, armed as he is with the power of deciding on a cause of ten rupees, and of confining for twelve hours; yet they have sat quietly since 1802, and allowed the great body of the rayets to be put under contributions by every man who chose to do it. It is only now that the Coimbitore inquiries, in which they had certainly no share, has suggested that among so many regulations, it might be useful to have one to protect the rayets from extortion, and the revenue from depredation. These objections about heads of villages, seem to me so whimsical, that I am persuaded they originate in their not having any very distinct notions on the subject. None of them have ever had much to say to heads of villages; and some of them, I imagine, first became acquainted with them, through the medium of the Court's letters. Some of them are, I think, hostile to the village regulations on principle, and are convinced that they must do mischief, because they are contrary to what they have been accustomed to follow and applaud. But

others, I am satisfied, would gladly see them introduced, if they could only be sure that they were in every point conformable to the intentions of the Court of Directors, and that the evils which they apprehend from them would not arise.

You will observe, that the potail is not to act as referee, and that his decisions, as moonsif, are final and limited to ten rupees. Reasons on both these heads have been given in our report; but there are others which we did not think it advisable to notice. The reference of suits would have brought the potail too much in contact with the zillah judge, would have frightened him, and made him wish to give up the duty. An appeal to the zillah judge would have had the same effect, and would have been secretly encouraged by the servants and vakeels, &c. of the court, who are jealous of all new dealers in the same line; for they have discernment enough to see, that the village system will injure the business of the court followers, and will eventually occasion a reduction of their establishments. The potail requires rather to be encouraged, than to be alarmed by penalties; the forms and checks by which he is restrained, are rather too numerous than too few. His jurisdiction reaches only to ten rupees, his decisions are set aside for partiality, and he is liable for corruption to fine and imprisonment. Under the Native Governments, he settled suits in his village; and if either party was dissatisfied, he carried his complaint to the amildar, who settled it, but no questions were put to the potail. When he had given his decision in his village, right or wrong, he was never afterwards troubled about the matter. We must therefore be cautious not to bring him too directly under the authority of men who have many prejudices against him, who have pronounced that he can do no good, and who will not be sorry to see their predictions verified.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Cumming, dated Madras, 24th September, 1816.

You will be glad to hear that the regulations defining the powers of the collector as magistrate, and of the zillah judge as criminal judge, have at last passed, together with the general police regulation.

A long Report has been given in by the Sudder Adawlut on the answers to their queries, received from the provincial and zillah judges. It was so short a time in my possession, that I could only run over it hastily. It was chiefly on matters of civil process; but where it treats of the transfer of the police to the collector, it evidently, I think, endeavours to place, in an unfavourable light, those opinions which are at variance with their own. Mr. Barber, in particular, is treated very unfairly. The Sudder Adawlut seem to value opinions, rather by their number, than their quality. The opinion of such a man as Mr. Barber, who has been so long and actively employed in police duties, both in the revenue and judicial line, is worth the opinions of the whole Sudder Adawlut and half a dozen of common judges besides. You know, I believe, that ——'s opinion stands for that of the Sudder Adawlut,—he writes whatever he thinks proper, signs it without difficulty, and it is then the voice of the court. I never myself had much faith in the opinions of the judges concerning the police, because their fixed situation gave them little opportunity of knowing much about it; and my faith has not been much increased by what I have seen since my return to India. The zillah judges are now chiefly men who were sent from Madras as registers; they had the code of regulations for their guide, and few ever thought of inquiring about any thing beyond them. They have been fixed to one spot,

with little communication with the inhabitants, except by a native in court. They hold them in too much contempt to think their institutions worthy of the smallest consideration, and they have such a reverence for the courts, that they think every improvement in the state of the country is the consequence of the labours of some court or other. The circuit-judges entertain the same notions; and hence they attribute the submission of poligars and the increasing tranquillity of the country, to this or that judge, when it is owing to neither judge nor collector, but to our extended influence among the neighbouring states, and to the dread of a regular army, which puts down all opposition. The objections of such men, to the new arrangement, cannot be expected to arise from any knowledge of the native character or customs: it rests upon the old commonplace arguments of their venality, ignorance, and incapacity, and the necessity of employing European agency every where. It is besides very natural that every person connected with the courts should disapprove of measures which they suspect will tend to diminish the business of the courts, and to enable Government to abolish some of them. The advocates for the old system speak on all occasions as if the regulations were completely efficient throughout the country; whereas they have little effect, except in the immediate vicinity of the court, and their police is every where vexatious and oppressive. Both the framers of the regulations, and most of the men who speak of their excellence, never seem to have considered the great difference between the condition of the people here and in England, and that the state of society and the character of the natives, make the regulations totally inapplicable to the great body of the people in this country. Mr. Sullivan and myself have, in two or three paragraphs of the Coimbitore report, endeavoured to show how little they are calculated to redress or protect the rayets; and I hope he will

find time to give some details of the police of that province, which was held up as a model to be imitated every where else. If he does, he will show how odious, and degradingly vexatious it has been to the inhabitants; how utterly incompetent a stationary magistrate is to control it, and how little dependence is to be placed on the reports of the circuit judges in general, whenever they venture beyond their calendars of prisoners.

But it is only waste of time to continue the discussion about the new arrangements. The only way is to let them have a fair trial, like their predecessors, for eight or ten years' experience will show which is best; the natives will decide the question. If they settle their disputes among themselves, through heads of villages and punchayets, and leave the courts with not half their present business, it will be pretty evident that they have got something they like better. Though the regulations framed by the Commission are now passed, I expect nothing from them for some time. The example set at the Presidency will extend to the provinces, and in many of them it will yet be some months before they are even begun to be acted upon; but they will find their way through all opposition, and I trust make us ashamed in all parts of India, of having attempted to exclude the natives from all share in the administration of justice. I don't know what Government are doing with the Coimbitore report—it might have been sent home six months ago. It is a tender subject for most of the great authorities here, who did not believe there could be any abuses, where the regulations were so well understood. ——has found fault with some casual remarks made by the collector and myself on the servants' regulations, and has, in the name of the Board of Revenue, in a letter to the collector, entered into an elaborate argument to expose our errors, which I imagine John Sullivan will not think it worth while to answer. I am very anxious to reform both the servant and

the curnum regulations, so as to leave the collector at liberty to employ his own servants, and to exercise the same authority over the curnum as before the permanent settlement; but I doubt if we shall be able to make the alterations, unless orders to that effect are sent from home.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Coimbitore, 17th March, 1817.

I COULD have wished to have had the village regulations more free than they are from forms and writings; but so many imaginary difficulties and delays occurred at every step, that I was very glad to get them passed in any way. I thought it better to do this, than to run the risk of something happening to prevent their being carried into effect at all, while we were wasting time in unprofitable debates. I was satisfied that the main object was to get them established any how; that when this was once accomplished, they would maintain themselves, and that whatever corrections might be found requisite, could easily be made hereafter. I must still repeat what I have said in every letter, that the only chance of rendering either the present or any other system efficient, is to employ men who are not hostile, but friendly to it; and that as opportunities offer, men of this description ought to be placed in council in the Sudder Adawlut and the Board of Revenue.

The influence of the judicial system has been very prejudicial to the internal administration of the country, both among Europeans and natives. It has thrown almost the whole of it into the hands of judges who know little of the natives, because they have little communication with them, except upon the bench. It has compelled those collectors who would wish to protect the rayets against the extortions of zemindars and renters, to look on quietly, because, by law, redress can only be given by the courts of justice, to

which the rayets cannot afford to go. It has enabled those collectors, who are averse to every business but amusement, to refuse to hear the complaints of their rayets; and it has left the rayets in a worse state than under any native government, completely at the mercy of the renters, because the courts cannot give, and the collectors are prohibited from giving, them relief.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Munro to Mr. Sullivan, dated Bangalore, 28th July, 1817.

THREE or four years more will work a great change in public here. It cannot be expected that men who have been accustomed to regard the system of 1793 as perfect, will easily give it up as altogether inadequate; or that even those who have lost their reverence for that system, will favour a new one which must, in its course, do away a great proportion of the courts and appointments connected with them. We might as well expect to find military men applauding a system for reducing the army. I am not therefore at all discouraged by the number of opinions against the system, because every person in the judicial line must be against it, either from interest or prejudice. I am still less discouraged, from observing on the spot how little those opinions are worth, even if there was nothing to bias them:—nine-tenths of them are those of men who know as little of India as if they had never left England. The case of Coimbitore, and the opinions procured upon it previous to the investigation, are strong proofs of how little the oldest servants know of the natives, and the abuses of authority.

CHAPTER VIII.

War with the Mahrattas.—Campaign of General Munro's Division.—General Correspondence.

THINGS were in this state, and the Commission, after meeting with endless delays and opposition, was just beginning to act, when events befel which turned, for a time, the attention of all concerned into a different channel.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the Pindarries, encouraged by the peculiar distribution of the British army, a large proportion of which was cantoned in the Deccan, as well as secretly supported by Scindiah, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and others, began, towards the close of 1816, to make frequent and destructive inroads into the Madras provinces. These became at last so annoying, that the necessity of resorting to strong measures for their suppression, could no longer be denied, and the approach of war upon a large scale, and against other besides avowed enemies, was very generally anticipated through-

out India. It is true that the Native powers, to whom remonstrances were made, affected to deplore the continuance of the predatory system, and expressed themselves willing to cooperate with the British Government in the extirpation of the freebooters; but the readiness with which they gave to those very freebooters a safe passage through their countries, and the perfect exemption which they experienced from the evils of which the Company complained, led all rational persons to conclude, that in such professions there was no sincerity. The consequence was, that the Governor-General, with the promptitude and sagacity which distinguished him, began early to arrange his plans for a campaign; and orders were issued which placed the troops of each of the Presidencies in a condition for immediate service.

Whilst these preparations were as yet imperfectly begun, Colonel Munro, from whose penetration the true state of affairs could not be concealed, esteemed it proper to solicit from the Supreme Government employment in the line of his own profession. With this view, he addressed a letter to the Marquess of Hastings, in which he gave it as his decided opinion, that the defensive system ought at once to be abandoned. "Against Native armies in general," says he, "defensive measures are always ineffectual, but more especially against Pindarries. The great Mahratta armies, though they move rapidly, must occasionally halt for their bazaars, supplies, and baggage,

which affords a chance of coming up with them; but there is no chance of this kind in the case of Pindarries, who move without bazaars, and enter the country merely for plunder, without any view of conquest. They can only be put down by seizing the districts in which they assemble, and either keeping them, or placing them under a Native government, which can keep them under complete subjection." Finally, he requested "that, in the event of a war, he might be entrusted with the command of the subsidiary forces of Hyderabad and Nagpoor, and of such force as might be destined to act between the Godavery and Nerbuddah.—I am senior to any of the officers now employed in that quarter," continued he: "I have seen as much service as any officer in the Madras army, having, with the exception of Lord Wellington's short campaign in 1803, been in every service with the army since June 1780, when Hyder Ally invaded the Carnatic."

The preceding letter was written in the month of January, 1817, when as yet the occurrence of a war had not been positively ascertained, or, to speak more correctly, when it was still a matter of doubt with whom the war should be waged. It contained sentiments perfectly in accordance with those of the Governor-General; yet the latter, though not unacquainted with the high character of Colonel Munro, declined to supersede officers already in the field. Whence this deter-

mination arose, whether from a feeling of delicacy towards the officers in question, or from a mistaken view of the civil duties in the discharge of which Colonel Munro was engaged, I possess no means of determining; but of the fact itself no doubt exists: indeed, it was distinctly stated, that even in the event of hostilities, his Excellency could hold out little hope that Colonel Munro would be employed actively in the field.

Time passed, and every day rendered more and more palpable the extent of the confederacy which had been formed for the overthrow of the British power. Not Scindiah, and Holkar, and Ameer Khan only, but the Peishwah himself became an object of suspicion; if not to other functionaries, at all events to Mr. Elphinstone, whose situation as resident gave him ample opportunities of observing, which his natural acuteness failed not to improve. It will be recollected, that early in 1817, a new treaty of alliance was set on foot with His Highness, which had for its object a more convenient mode of providing for the discharge of engagements already in force. To this, as it implied a considerable cession of territory, the Peishwah exhibited so much reluctance, that June arrived ere the negotiation produced any result; nor was it till the 13th day of that month that the treaty of Poonah was concluded, and several important provinces made formally over to the East India Company. These, including a district

in the southern Mahratta country, in which were situated the forts of Darwar and Koongul, a tract of land south of the Werda, and other places, were estimated to produce an annual revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees, and they were given up as a compensation for the maintenance of a subsidiary force of three thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry.

In the mean while, however, the dispositions which Lord Hastings had resolved to make were gradually arriving at maturity. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-chief at Madras, received orders to assume the guidance both of his own army and of that of the Deccan, and to associate with himself, as a member of a political commission, Colonel Sir John Malcolm, to whom a Brigadier's warrant was issued. A similar promotion was, at the same time, conferred upon various other officers, including Colonels Doveton, Floyer, and Pritzler, of the Madras Presidency; whilst to each of them was committed either a division or a brigade in the army of which Sir Thomas Hislop was at the head. Now, the whole of these officers, however meritorious in other respects, were junior to Colonel Munro; their experience in Indian warfare was more limited than that which circumstances had enabled him to acquire; yet they were all advanced to the rank of Brigadiers, and all invested with commands, whilst he was left in the grade of Colonel, to attend to civil occupations. Colonel Munro was deeply

hurt at this arrangement: if ever he felt ambitious for distinction of any kind, it was for that which the command of troops, in the presence of an enemy, alone affords an opportunity of earning; and it wounded him severely to discover, that now, when other circumstances combined to open a door for its attainment, the pleasure of his superiors should alone stand in the way.

With matters in this vague and unsatisfactory condition, considerable importance was attached to an early occupation of the new provinces ceded to the Company. Their local position gave to them great value in the existing state of affairs; whilst in the event of a rupture with the Peishwah, that value would be increased fourfold; and hence both the Supreme Government and the Government of Madras were exceedingly desirous that no time should be lost in adjusting the transfer. Colonel Munro was strongly urged to accept the office of Commissioner in this arrangement. It was not the kind of office which he desired to fill at a moment when hostilities were on the eve of commencing; nor did he conceive that the higher powers behaved to him with the consideration to which he was entitled, when they repeatedly pressed it upon him; but Colonel Munro had never accustomed himself to indulge a private feeling, when the public good seemed to be at issue; and, after a slight struggle between inclination and patriotism, he accepted it. He accordingly repaired to the Toombuddra,

upon which a force was already assembled, to the command of which Brigadier-General Pritzler had been appointed, and assuming the temporary direction of it, made ready to occupy Darwar, either by persuasion or force.

No great difficulty was experienced in the accomplishment of this service. Major Newal, being pushed forward at the head of a battalion of sepoys, arrived in front of the place several days before Colonel Munro, who, with the remainder of the brigade, was hindered from passing the river by a violent flood; but that intelligent officer conducted matters with so much address, that he prevailed upon the garrison, though in a state of mutiny, to submit. Colonel Munro came up soon after they had evacuated the place, and took quiet possession. He remained here several weeks, transacting business, or rather striving to transact it, with the agents appointed by the Peishwah to meet him; and he addressed, during this interval, the following characteristic and important letter to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Darwar, 12th August, 1817.

WITH regard to what more immediately concerns myself, though I cannot but regret deeply to feel, for the first time, the army in advance shut against me, and that your Lordship's plans do not admit of my being employed with the forces in the Deccan, I am sensible that those plans ought not to give way to the views of individuals.

I have accepted the command offered to me by the

Madras Government, of the troops destined for the occupation of the Peishwah's cessions in Darwar and Savanore. Had I been certain that it would have led to nothing else, I would have declined it; but I indulge the hope that, in the event of hostilities, and of any vacancy occurring among the brigadiers in the Deccan, it may possibly lead to my being employed in that quarter. When I consider, however, the weakness of the Native states, and the character of the chiefs under whose sway they now are, I see little chance of war, and none of a protracted resistance. They have not force to turn our armies, and lengthen out the contest by a predatory invasion of our territories. Their great distance from our frontier, and the magnitude of our disposable force, are almost insurmountable obstacles to the success of such an enterprise; whilst nothing but our following them too regularly, could save them from being almost entirely destroyed. They may run ahead for a few days, but, if followed perseveringly by numerous small detachments properly supported, they will have no time to rest or plunder; they will be exhausted and overtaken. I have seen Sir John Malcolm's able observations on this subject; and I should, if any thing, rather rate their military power lower than he does. It is not that they want resources, that they have not men and horses, but that there is no one amongst them possessed of those superior talents which are necessary to direct them to advantage.

There is so little system or subordination in Native governments, that much more energy is required under them, than under the more regular governments of Europe, to give full effect to their resources. Scindiah was never formidable, even in the height of his power. The great means which he possessed were lost in his feeble hands. The exertions of Holkar against Lord Lake were still weaker than those of Scindiah. The power of Scindiah's, as well as

of Holkar's government, has so much declined since that period, that it is scarcely credible that either Scindiah or Meer Khan would venture to oppose by force, any measure for the suppression of the Pindarries. But it is still possible that they might act otherwise; for there is sometimes a kind of infatuation about Indian chiefs who have lost a part of their dominions, which tempts them to risk the rest in a contest which they know to be hopeless.

The situation of the British Government with regard to the Native powers, is entirely changed within the last twenty years. It formerly brought very small armies into the field, with hardly any cavalry; and the issue of any war in which it engaged was extremely uncertain. It now brings armies into the field superior to those of the enemy, not only in infantry, but also in cavalry, both in quality and number. The superiority is so great, that the event of any struggle in which it may be engaged is no longer doubtful. It has only to bring forward its armies, and dictate what terms it pleases, either without war, or after a short and fruitless resistance. It may however be doubted whether, after the settlement of the Pindarries, it ought to avail itself of its predominant power, in order to extend the system of subsidiary alliances, by stationing a force in Bhopaul or in any other foreign territory. While the military power of Mysore and of the Mahratta chiefs was yet in its vigour, subsidiary alliances were in some degree necessary for its safety, but that time is now past; and when, therefore, the evils which a subsidiary force entails upon every country in which it is established are considered, it appears advisable that future security against the Pindarries should be sought by their reduction, and by compelling Scindiah, for his conduct in supporting them, to cede the districts restored to him in 1805-6, rather than by stationing a subsidiary force in Bhopaul. There are many weighty objections to the employment of a subsidiary force.

It has a natural tendency to render the government of every country in which it exists, weak and oppressive; to extinguish all honourable spirit among the higher classes of society, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. The usual remedy of a bad government in India is a quiet revolution in the palace, or a violent one by rebellion, or foreign conquests. But the presence of a British force cuts off every chance of remedy, by supporting the prince on the throne against every foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security; and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects. Wherever the subsidiary system is introduced, unless the reigning prince be a man of great abilities, the country will soon bear the marks of it in decaying villages and decreasing population. This has long been observed in the dominions of the Peishwah and the Nizam, and is now beginning to be seen in Mysore. The talents of Purneah, while he acted as Dewan, saved that country from the usual effects of the system; but the Rajah is likely to let them have their full operation. He is indolent and prodigal, and has already, besides the current revenue, dissipated about sixty lacs of pagodas of the treasure laid up by the late dewan. He is mean, artful, revengeful, and cruel. He does not take away life, but he inflicts the most disgraceful and inhuman punishments on men of every rank, at a distance from his capital, where he thinks it will remain unknown to Europeans; and though young, he is already detested by his subjects.

A subsidiary force would be a most useful establishment, if it could be directed solely to the support of our ascendency, without nourishing all the vices of a bad government; but this seems to be almost impossible. The only way in which this object has ever, in any degree, been attained, is by the appointment of a Dewan. This measure

is, no doubt, liable to numerous objections; but still it is the only one by which any amends can be made to the people of the country for the miseries brought upon them by the subsidiary force, in giving stability to a vicious government. The great difficulty is to prevent the prince from counteracting the Dewan, and the resident from meddling too much; but, when this is avoided, the Dewan may be made a most useful instrument of government

There is, however, another view under which the subsidiary system should be considered,—I mean that of its inevitable tendency to bring every Native state into which it is introduced, sooner or later, under the exclusive dominion of the British Government. It has already done this completely in the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic. It has made some progress in that of the Peishwah and the Nizam; and the whole of the territory of these princes will, unquestionably, suffer the same fate as the Carnatic. The observation of Moro Dekshat, in speaking of the late treaty to Major Ford, "that no Native power could, from its habits, conduct itself with such strict fidelity as we seemed to demand," is perfectly just. This very Peishwah will probably again commit a breach of the alliance. The Nizam will do the same; and the same consequence, a farther reduction of their power for our own safety, must again follow. Even if the prince himself were disposed to adhere rigidly to the alliance, there will always be some amongst his principal officers who will urge him to break it. As long as there remains in the country any high-minded independence, which seeks to throw off the control of strangers, such counsellors will be found. I have a better opinion of the natives of India than to think that this spirit will ever be completely extinguished; and I can therefore have no doubt that the subsidiary system must every where run its full course, and destroy every government which it undertakes to protect.

In this progress of things, the evil of a weak and oppressive government, supported by a subsidiary alliance, will at least be removed. But even if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. One effect of such a conquest would be, that the Indian army, having no longer any warlike neighbours to combat, would gradually lose its military habits and discipline, and that the native troops would have leisure to feel their own strength, and, for want of other employment, to turn it against their European masters. But even if we could be secured against every internal convulsion, and could retain the country quietly in subjection, I doubt much if the condition of the people would be better than under their Native princes. The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no Native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression, unknown in those states; but these advantages are dearly bought. They are purchased by the sacrifice of independence—of national character—and of whatever renders a people respectable. The natives of the British provinces may, without fear pursue their different occupations, as traders, meerassidars, or husbandmen, and enjoy the fruits of their labour in tranquillity; but none of them can aspire to any thing beyond this mere animal state of thriving in peace—none of them can look forward to any share in the legislation, or civil or military government of their country. It is from men who either hold, or are eligible to public office, that natives take their character: where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of the community. The effect of this state of things is observable in all the British provinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the

most abject race in India. No elevation of character can be expected among men who, in the military line, cannot attain to any rank above that of subahdar, where they are as much below an ensign as an ensign is below the commander-in-chief, and who, in the civil line, can hope for nothing beyond some petty, judicial, or revenue office, in which they may, by corrupt means, make up for their slender salary.

The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people. There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country as in British India.

Among all the disorders of the Native states, the field is open for every man to raise himself; and hence among them there is a spirit of emulation, of restless enterprize and independence, far preferable to the servility of our Indian subjects. The existence of independent Native states is also useful in drawing off the turbulent and disaffected among our native troops. Many of these men belonging to the Madras army, formerly sought service in Mysore.

If the British Government is not favourable to the improvement of the Indian character, that of its control through a subsidiary force is still less so.

Its power is now so great, that it has nothing to fear from any combination; and it is perfectly able to take satisfaction for any insult, without any extension of the subsidiary system being necessary. It will generally be found much more convenient to carry on war where it has not been introduced. This was the case in both the wars with Tippoo Sultan. The conquest was complete, because our operations were not perplexed by any subsidiary alliance with him. The simple and direct mode of conquest

from without, is more creditable both to our armies and to our national character, than that of dismemberment from within by the aid of a subsidiary force.) However just the motives may be from which such a force acts, yet the situation in which it is placed, renders its acting at all too like the movements of the Prætorian bands. It acts, it is true, only by the orders of its own Government, and only for public objects; but still it is always ready in the neighbourhood of the capital, to dictate terms to, or to depose the prince whom it was stationed there to defend.

I cannot conclude this letter without apologizing both for its length and for the freedom with which I have expressed myself. But it appears to me, that our Indian Empire has now reached that point whence it becomes a subject for the most serious consideration, whether it ought in future to be extended by means of subsidiary alliances.

In the mean time the Peishwah, whose designs had all along been hostile, but whose antipathy to the British name received a violent increase in consequence of the late treaty, devised numberless expedients for the purpose of obtaining revenge for his wrongs, real or imaginary. Immediately after the close of the negotiation, he withdrew from the city of Poonah, to which, on a variety of pretexts, he refused to return; but he was not the less busy, through the instrumentality of his ministers, in forwarding the measures which he had in view. There was an old engagement on the part of the Company, to reduce under his subjection certain petty princes, over whom he claimed to hold a feudal superiority. Among these, the chieftain of Soondoor was included; and

the Peishwah became extremely urgent that the British Government would employ against him a part of their force now in the field. For some time, Mr. Elphinstone entertained serious doubts whether it would be prudent to comply with this request. As Soondoor lay at a considerable distance from the line of communication, the division detached against it must, in the event of a rupture, be completely isolated; and Mr. Elphinstone could not bring himself to recommend such an arrangement, whilst the disposition of his Highness remained uncertain. But in the month of August, Sir John Malcolm having travelled ninety miles by post, for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with the suspected potentate, brought back a report so favourable, that all Mr. Elphinstone's scruples vanished. Not only was the reduction of Soondoor recommended as a measure well calculated to please the Peishwah, but General Smith's division, which had hitherto remained in the vicinity of Poonah, was ordered in advance; and the residency was left, in the midst of an armed population, to the protection of an inconsiderable detachment of a few hundred sepoys.

At the suggestion of Mr. Elphinstone, Colonel Munro received instructions to employ the force with which he held Darwar, in the reduction of Soondoor. Leaving a small garrison to secure the former place, he marched on the 13th of October, and arriving in the valley on the 27th,

Soondoor was immediately given up. There was something more than commonly striking in the circumstances which accompanied this surrender. The chieftain, Sheo Rao, had enjoyed his principality in uncontrolled possession for upwards of twenty years, holding his little court in a formidable stone fortress which commanded the valley; and he had been repeatedly heard to declare, that sooner than submit to the tyranny of the Peishwah, he would bury himself in its ruins. Against the strength of the British empire, however, he felt that it were madness to contend, and after a severe struggle, made up his mind to submit. "He came out," says an eye-witness, "with his little court and retinue, and met the detachment in the glen which leads into his valley; and on reaching the fort, he delivered up the keys with a dignified resignation, which affected every individual who witnessed the scene. He declared that no alternative was left to him, but to throw himself on the protection of the Company; and called aloud to Colonel Munro, when he took his leave, so as to be heard by all his followers, 'Think of my situation,—have some consideration for us all.'" The appeal was not made in vain. Colonel Munro, touched by the humiliation of the unfortunate man, at once acceded to every request which he advanced; and left him to the full as much overwhelmed with gratitude at the generosity of his conqueror, as sorrowful on account of the overthrow of his own

importance. It is worthy of remark, that when the Peishwah's Government came to be broken up, Colonel Munro recommended that the Sheo Rao should be restored to his principality, and that the British Government, well disposed of itself to act with generosity, readily acceded to the proposition.

Having accomplished this service, Colonel Munro, in obedience to his instructions, gave up the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, with directions to move the brigade to the point where Brigadier-General Pritzler was appointed to join. He himself, in the mean while, took the road to Darwar, with the intention of returning as soon as possible to the Presidency; for of military employment he now despaired; and the duties of Commissioner were not of a nature to detain him longer than need be from his family. But on reaching the former place on the 14th of November, intelligence came in, which gave a new turn to the whole of public affairs, and opened out to him new and more brilliant prospects. The attack upon the resident at Poonah left no room to doubt that a Mahratta war was begun; and Colonel Munro instantly repeated his application to be placed in charge of a corps.

This was done on the 26th of November, in a letter descriptive of the state of the southern Mahratta country and of his own views touching the particular field in which his services might be made available. "I hold," he says, "at pre-

sent the command of the troops in the expected cession in this quarter; but I can bring into the field only three or four companies of the garrison of Darwar, to which I propose to add a few hundred peons, for the purpose of expelling the Mahrattas from the slip of country between Darwar and Soondah. But even this subaltern command I deem more useful at the present moment, than that of any division south of the Toombudra." On the 28th, however, he wrote again; and his letter contains so many evidences of the singular sagacity and profound calculations of the writer, that I cannot deny to the reader the satisfaction of perusing it at length.

"The hostile conduct of the Peishwah," says he, addressing himself to the Governor-General, "and my present situation in the middle of the southern Mahrattas, where I have an opportunity of seeing a good deal of their civil and military government, will, I hope, in some degree excuse my addressing your Lordship so soon again. No intelligence has yet been received here respecting the determination of Scindiah; but whether he accede to or reject the arrangement proposed to him, it seems desirable that the whole, or at least the greater part, of the Madras troops now in the field, should be brought as soon as possible to act against the Peishwah. The local situation of the Poonah territories, and the still remaining influence of the Peishwah, as the nominal head of the Mahratta states, make the overthrow of his government the most important, perhaps, of all the measures that can be adopted for the safety of our own dominions.

"The Mahratta Government, from its foundation, has been one of the most destructive that ever existed in

India. It never relinquished the predatory spirit of its founder, Sewajee. That spirit grew with its power; and when its empire extended from the Ganges to the Cavery, this nation was little better than a horde of imperial thieves. All other Hindoo states took a pride in the improvement of the country, and in the construction of pagodas, tanks, canals, and other public works. The Mahrattas have done nothing of this kind: their work has been chiefly desolation. They did not seek their revenue in the improvement of the country, but in the exactions of the established chout from their neighbours, and in predatory incursions to levy more. Though they have now fortunately been obliged to relinquish their claims, the wish to revive them will never cease but with the extinction of their power. A government so hostile in its principles to improvement and tranquillity ought, if possible, to be completely overthrown. It may be a matter of some difficulty to decide what ought to be established in its room, and whether the chief of the government should be taken from among the relations of the Peishwah or the descendants of Sewajee. Before the establishment of the new state, however, it might be expedient to require the cession of the southern Jagheers; and of the provinces south of the Kistna, to the British Government.

"The provinces between the Werdah and the Kistna are not properly Mahratta: though there is a considerable mixture of Mahrattas, the Canarese form the great body of the people. The Mahratta jagheerdars and their principal servants are therefore considered, in some measure, as strangers and conquerors. The best of the horse are in general Mahrattas, and no doubt attached to their chiefs; but the infantry in the forts and villages are mostly Canarese, and ready to join any power that will pay them. All the trading classes are anxious for the expulsion of the Mahrattas, because they interrupt their trade by arbitrary

exactions, and often plunder them of their whole property. The heads of villages, a much more powerful body than the commercial, are likewise very generally desirous of being relieved from the Mahratta dominion. If the Peishwah do not submit unconditionally, or if the greater part of the Madras troops can be soon brought against him, the conquest of his territory will be effected without much difficulty. But in the event of his not submitting, and of its not being practicable to employ speedily such a force against him, the conquest of his southern provinces would be much facilitated by pursuing the course adopted by Hyder Ally in this very country, of garrisoning all the forts and walled villages with peons from Mysore and the Ceded Districts. By this means the regular force is kept entire for field-service, and the civil as well as the military possession of the country is obtained. An army of horse, which is excluded from the principal towns and villages, cannot remain long together; it can receive no regular supplies; its chiefs having no place of security, can have no treasure, except in their camp, which is soon exhausted; the troops are not paid, become dispirited, and gradually disperse; for even the most irregular and predatory troops cannot be kept long together in the field, unless they have a home to which they can retire in security with their plunder."

The preceding letter is in every respect worthy of the high talents and fervent zeal of its writer; but the end which he sought to attain by it, was, by the unsolicited favour of Lord Hastings, already accomplished. So early as the 20th of October, a Brigadier's commission had been made out for Colonel Munro, and forwarded to the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan,

with instructions to transmit it whenever the fitting moment should appear to the latter to have arrived. There could be no doubt as to the sentiments either of Sir Thomas Hislop or of any other officer attached to his army on such an occasion. All earnestly desired to see Colonel Munro associated with themselves in the glorious operations before them; and the commission was in consequence sent forward on the very day of its arrival at head-quarters.

By this new arrangement, which was not communicated to him till the 29th of November, General Munro found himself invested with a somewhat obscurely-worded superiority over the movements of the reserve division hitherto commanded by General Pritzler. It was announced to him, at the same time, that he should communicate directly with Mr. Elphinstone, the appointed agent for the Governor-General, in controlling the operations of the war with the Peishwah, whilst the latter was recommended to avail himself of General Munro's assistance in the adjustment of all matters political as well as civil. It may with truth be asserted, that never were instructions received with greater satisfaction, or acted upon with better will. There existed between these two distinguished functionaries the most unreserved confidence, which no paltry jealousy was permitted for a moment to interrupt; and hence their letters, official as well as private, are all composed in the spirit which ought

alone to actuate men engaged in the common cause of advancing the welfare of their country. But General Munro's situation was not, in other respects, of a very cheering nature, as the following brief account of it will show.

In the first place, his military instructions were so expressed, that though they gave to him the rank of Brigadier, and appointed him to act especially with the reserve, it was doubtful whether they conferred upon him authority to assume the personal command of that corps, or authorized him merely to direct its general movements, leaving the execution in detail to General Pritzler. In the next place, as the reserve was already advanced to the Kistna, between which and Darwar the communication was both remote and hazardous, all power of joining it, had such a measure been clearly defined, was, at least for the present, taken away. The total amount of force, therefore, actually placed at his disposal, amounted only to five companies of Native infantry, with two field-pieces; whilst of a staff to assist him in the organization of such additional means as he already began to count upon, he was entirely destitute. Nor did his difficulties end here.

The Peishwah no sooner came to a determination of acting with hostility towards the British Government, than he issued orders for the reoccupation of the districts which he had ceded by the treaty of Poonah. He directed his jagheerdar chieftains likewise, supported by Cassee

Rao Gokla, who was in command of a corps of regular infantry and cavalry, to threaten from the Dooab, between the Kistna and the Toombuddra, an invasion of the British territories: and he filled with troops every fort, castle, and post which appeared capable of embarrassing the movements of an enemy. The consequence was, that General Munro found himself in some measure compelled either to act wholly upon the defensive, for which the numerical weakness of his detachment was peculiarly ill-adapted, or to commence a series of sieges, destitute of all means for conducting them. It must be confessed, that few men would have looked upon such a position as other than desperate; but General Munro's energies on the present, as on other occasions, increased in exact proportion to the increase of his difficulties, and he embarked fearlessly in a course of hardihood and daring, to which the exploits of earlier times in India alone furnish a parallel.

Instead of making any effort to retard the movements of the reserve, or to bring it back to some position where he might be able to join, he communicated both to Mr. Elphinstone, and to General Hislop, his wish, that General Pritzler should push rapidly towards Poonah; and he instructed that officer himself to lose no time in opening a communication with the British resident at the Mahratta capital. This done, he suggested that one or more light brigades ought to be formed out of the entire force, infantry, ca-

valry, and artillery, with which General Pritzler might assist in following the Peishwah to any point on which he might retire, whilst the remainder, with a few heavy guns, should be sent back to him, for the purpose of being employed in the siege of the forts, with which the southern Mahratta country was studded. In the meanwhile, however, he determined not to trust to contingencies, upon the certain occurrence of which it was impossible to count, but with his five companies of sepoys to cross the Toombudra, and open the campaign in the enemy's country. This was at once a generous and a bold plan—generous as far as the feelings of others were affected, and bold as it referred to his own situation. Yet the reasoning upon it rested was as sound in theory, as the promptitude with which he carried it into execution was laudable.

General Munro knew perfectly well, that a force so inadequate as his could offer no resistance whatever to a numerous army prepared to pass the frontier of the Madras territory at a variety of points. The division which advanced directly against himself, he might perhaps repulse; but in the mean while other corps would make good their entrance, and the Company's possessions must suffer insult, which it would be impossible for him either to ward off or revenge. On the other hand, he justly calculated, that were he to carry the war into the enemy's country, they would naturally think first of resisting

the aggression; and hence, should no other benefit arise out of the movement, it would at all events serve the purpose of securing the British subjects against the evils of a contest at their own doors. But his calculations were too profound and too justly formed, not to extend beyond this. He conceived, that by alarming the feudatory chiefs for the safety of their own possessions, he would shake their fealty to their superior; whilst a few successes in the outset would in all probability deprive them of the power, if not of the inclination, to do serious mischief during the remainder of the struggle. It was well, under such circumstances, that the strong fortress of Soondoor chanced not to be in possession of the Peishwah's troops. General Munro had, it appeared, seen enough, even at the moment when Sheo Rao was displaced, to make him hesitate as to the propriety of committing that stronghold to a Mahratta governor; and the event proved, that in distrusting the fidelity of the ally in whose favour he then acted, a fresh instance was given of that singular insight into human character which so peculiarly belonged to him.

Having made up his mind to pursue this plan of operations, General Munro lost no time in applying to the Madras Government for such an increase of force as would at once give additional security to the frontier, and aid him in following up his proposed invasion. The application was

seconded both by Mr. Elphinstone and the Commander of the army of the Deccan, to both of whom he communicated it; but though repeated again and again, on each occasion in terms more urgent than before, it met with no favourable attention. This was exceedingly mortifying, and to a person possessed of less energy of character, might have proved utterly destructive of all hope; but in General Munro it excited only an additional determination to trust all to his own conduct and good fortune. He resolved, at every hazard, to keep the war out of the Company's possessions; and seeing that regular troops were not to be had, he adopted the following singular expedient for recruiting his little army.

The extraordinary talent which General Munro possessed of acquiring the confidence and goodwill of the people over whom he presided, has been noticed on more than one occasion during the course of this memoir. Hitherto he had been called upon to make use of that feeling only in preserving order in provinces subject to the British rule; he now prepared to avail himself of it for the subjugation of a district every where overrun by the Peishwah's troops. He determined to arm the inhabitants of the newly ceded provinces, and to employ them, under revenue amildars of his own selection, against their legitimate sovereign, and he set about this singular operation with so much prudence and judgment, that it was attended with perfect success.

The following letter to the Adjutant-General of the army of the Deccan, which bears date December 24th, will sufficiently explain how the system operated, whilst it will convey to the reader a knowledge of the resources with which Brigadier-General Munro opened his campaign. It is only necessary to premise, that the battering-train, of which the writer speaks, consisted of two iron eighteen-pounders, two iron and two brass twelves, with two mortars, which he was permitted to borrow from the garrison at Bellary.

TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE DECCAN.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to address you on the 22d instant, from Koongul. The force by which I was then accompanied, consisted of two flank and three battalion companies from the garrison of Darwar. The battalion companies proceeded next morning to meet the battering-train from Bellary, and I marched at the same time with the flank companies, with one of the battalion guns, and a five and a half inch mortar, under the command of Major Newall, for Nawelgoond, in order to relieve that place, in which I had a garrison of peons hard pressed by Cassee Rao Gokla. On approaching within two miles of Nawelgoond, some small parties of horse were seen; and advancing about a mile farther, the main body was discovered moving slowly along the side of a rising ground, at the distance of about a thousand yards. Its strength appeared to be about seven hundred; and as it seemed to have an

intention of coming round upon our baggage, two shells were thrown, by which two horsemen were killed. The whole body upon this moved off, attended by about two hundred foot, which Cassee Rao had brought with him, and the garrison of Lallghurry, amounting to about one hundred men, and was soon out of sight.

When the Peishwah commenced hostilities, it became evident that the local situation of this province, and Gokla's extensive jagheers in it, would give great facility to the enemy in making incursions into the Company's territory. The most likely way of preventing it was to find the enemy employment in the defence of his own possessions; but as there was no disposable regular force present, I determined at once to avail myself of the aid of the inhabitants in accomplishing this object. As much progress in this plan has already been made as was possible with the means within my reach.

I appointed military amildars to most of the districts in the enemy's possessions on this side of the Malpurba, with orders to raise peons, and get possession of as much of their respective districts as was practicable. Among these men, Ram Rao, a native of Mysore, was appointed to Nawelgoond; he got possession of above half the district in a very short time, and on the 19th instant he advanced from a village about two miles from Nawelgoond, with five hundred peons, to attack Govind Rao Gokla, who was at that place with a body of seven hundred horse. About six hundred of this body were picqueted in the streets, and the open space between the pettah and fort. The rest were mounted and watching Ram Rao, who advanced at noon so rapidly that he entered the pettah before the body there could mount and get out of it. The panic was so great that they galloped off in every direction, without attempting to make any resistance. Nineteen horses were taken, above twenty were left dead. A considerable number of

the enemy were killed. Govind Rao, who commanded, escaped with difficulty; and of two sirdars under him, one was killed, and the other wounded and taken.

Cassee Roa Gokla, who was then at Badami, on hearing of the defeat of his son, marched to join him with five hundred and fifty horse, and two hundred foot; and after collecting the fugitives, he arrived at Nawelgoond on the 22d, Ram Rao having retired into the old fort: he occupied the pettah before daylight on the 23d, and was pressing the fort very hard, when the approach of Major Newall's detachment saved the garrison, as its ammunition was nearly expended. The enemy left nine or ten dead in the streets, and they were so much dispirited by their loss in the two attacks, that they abandoned Lallghurry, the ghurry that protects Nawelgoond, and carried off the garrison.

I have given these details, because, without them, I could not have done justice to Ram Rao, whose conduct is entitled to the highest praise.

Having thus succeeded in raising the blockade of Nawelgoond, General Munro turned his undivided attention to the safe conveyance of the train through the heart of the enemy's country. For this purpose, Major Newall, who, with the Brigadier, fell back upon Darwar as soon as the operations detailed above were completed, was sent out at the head of a detachment of three companies, and meeting the convoy at Colaspoor, on the 3d of January, brought it in unmolested to head-quarters. There accompanied the guns six fresh companies in addition to Major Newall's escort, namely, two of the 12th Native infantry,

and four of pioneers; and there came in soon afterwards, three troops of Native cavalry, under the command of Captain Gorton. The latter were furnished by Major-General Lang, who commanded in the Ceded Districts, at his own responsibility; and they proved of essential service in future operations, by checking the vexatious approaches of Cassee Rao Gokla's clouds of horse.

As soon as these inconsiderable reinforcements reached him, Gen. Munro, conceiving that he was sufficiently strong to act on the offensive, made ready to open the campaign in real earnest. This he did by investing Guddak on the 5th of January; and on the 6th, after a few shells had been thrown and a battery erected, the place surrendered. He moved next upon Dummul, which, after sustaining a four hours' fire from two batteries, capitulated on the 8th; the garrison, of four hundred and fifty men, engaging not to serve again during the war. From Dummul he marched upon Hooblee, where he arrived on the 13th, having received by the way a very acceptable accession to his force in two hundred Mysore regular infantry. Hooblee opened its gates without resistance, though garrisoned by three hundred men, on condition that private property should be respected; and on the following day, Miserieko-tah was admitted to the same terms. All these places General Munro immediately occupied by corps of peons, by which means his little army

of regulars was kept entire, and fit for ulterior operations. He then returned to Darwar, threatened at every step, as he had been during his advance, by Cassee Rao Gokla's cavalry; but as they neither risked a serious attack, nor waited to receive one, he arrived there on the 16th, without the loss of a man.

In the mean while, a variety of lesser operations were conducted with extraordinary success by the irregulars, whom it was not esteemed necessary to attach immediately to head-quarters. These, under their amildars, not only drove the enemy from the open country, but succeeded in expelling them from several forts and many walled villages, whilst the inhabitants generally, gained over by the judicious proclamations circulated, espoused with avidity the cause of the British army. It had occurred to General Munro, that were the cultivators once assured of adequate protection against the vengeance of their chiefs, they would gladly hold back as much of the revenue as had not yet been collected; and he caused it to be every where announced, that the British Government would treat as enemies all those who paid any farther tribute either to Gokla or the Peishwah. The people were not slow in paying obedience to an edict in itself so acceptable. They not only refused to satisfy the demands of their old masters, but acted every where in aid of the General's irregulars; and the consequence was,

that before the 18th of January he was in possession of the whole of the Mahratta territory south of the Malpurba, with the exception of the two small forts of Hoola and Hangull, of several villages situated to the north of that river, and of a narrow district lying on the north-east of Julleal.

It has been stated that General Munro, on the fall of Miseriekotah, returned to Darwar. He himself remained here up to the 4th of February, organizing his force, and putting the conquered provinces in order; but his troops were in the interval actively employed, partly in escorting treasure, partly in opposing the Pindarries. It will be recollected that a band of these marauders, passing the flank of the British troops beyond the Nerbuddah, and ascending the Berar Ghauts in the month of December, took their course southward. Amid the complicated movements which the flight of the Peishwah occasioned, they were little heeded till they entered the Company's territories, separated into lesser bodies, and spread havoc and dismay in all directions. One of these marauding companies, which re-crossed the Toombuddra on the 18th of January, marched north, and arrived on the 20th between Darwar and Hullyhall, whither General Munro instantly dispatched his cavalry to intercept them. It was led by Captain Gorton, who managed matters so well, that he came by surprise upon the enemy's

bivouac before sunrise on the 21st, and they were driven with some loss and great confusion beyond the line of the frontier.

But it was not in providing means for the re-organization of his little army alone, that General Munro occupied himself during this period. He renewed his application for additional troops, both to the authorities at Madras, and to the Supreme Government; and he enjoyed at last the satisfaction to learn, that the latter had issued peremptory orders that the application should be attended to. On the 7th of January an official announcement reached him, that, by the especial command of the Governor-General, His Majesty's 22nd dragoons, with a battalion of Native infantry, then in the Ceded Districts, were placed at his disposal. Unfortunately, however, the alarm of a Pindarry invasion interfered to hinder the accomplishment of this promise, and he was in consequence compelled to trust still longer to his own energies. Nor was this all. Though the Madras Government could not spare the troops which an authority superior to its own had allotted to General Munro's use, it conceived itself authorized to demand from him the party of Native cavalry now in his camp, as if a corps already weak beyond example could be weakened still farther, yet continue effective. General Munro, with great propriety, paid no attention to the requisition, but kept Captain Gorton's squadron till it was

relieved, many weeks after, by European dragoons.

On the 5th of February General Munro once more took the field, at the head of twelve companies of infantry, four of them being Mysoreans, three troops of horse, four companies of pioneers, four long guns, as many field-pieces, and one howitzer. He directed his march upon Badaumee, a fortress situated on the Malpurba, by a route so intricate, that the pioneers were continually employed in opening a path for the column, whilst both were exposed to repeated annoyance from the enemy's cavalry, which in great numbers hovered round them. On the 9th he reached Belloor, the garrison, consisting of four hundred horse and three hundred foot, escaping over the hills as he approached, and leaving him to take unmolested possession of a place not devoid of importance. Here he halted till the 12th, preparing his feeble means, as he best could, for the siege; and then pushed forward in high spirits and excellent order towards Badaumee.

After carrying by assault a fortified pagoda, which commanded the line of his march, General Munro arrived in presence of the place to be attacked, and immediately took up the best position which his scanty numbers would permit. This was directly in front of the lower range of works, for Badaumee consists of a number of entrenched heights, having a walled town at the foot of them; and before any attempt could be

made upon the former, it was necessary to obtain possession of the latter. No time was lost in throwing up and arming batteries, which played upon the wall without intermission, till a breach being effected on the 17th, which appeared to be practicable, preparations were made to storm. The place was carried with little loss, notwithstanding a gallant defence offered by the garrison in the streets, and the assailants pressed on with so much vigour to escalade the fort, that its commandant hung out a signal of surrender. The garrison, marching out with their arms and private baggage, were permitted to depart with a safe conduct; and by ten o'clock at night of the 18th, Badaumee was in full possession of the British force.

With the single exception of Darwar, there was no fortified town south of the Kistna to be compared, in point of importance, with Badaumee; and even Darwar was so far inferior to its rival, that its works were both less regular and less extensive. As a necessary consequence, the fall of such a place produced a strong sensation wherever intelligence of the event arrived; and as General Munro had been joined during the siege by the long-expected reinforcements, an opinion speedily obtained throughout the South of the Mahratta country, that to offer resistance to his arms was absolutely useless. Baggrecotah, a fort of some strength upon the Gutpurba, scarcely waited to be summoned ere it opened its gates;

whilst Hangul submitted to a single company of sepoys, detached under Lieutenant Stott to straiten its garrison. In a word, the whole of the territory on the south of the Gutpurba was subdued; and nothing remained for him to effect, except the consolidation and political arrangement of his conquests.

Partly with a view to effect this end, partly that he might repair, as far as possible, the injury done to his cannon during the late siege, General Munro halted at Baggrecotah from the 22nd to the 26th. This was not however, at least to him, a period of rest or relaxation. On the contrary, but a faint idea will be entertained of the extent of business with which he was oppressed, if the mere detail of his own military movements be considered; indeed it may with truth be asserted that these, rapid and sometimes hazardous as they were, occupied much less of his attention than the many other arrangements to which he was a party; for, during the entire course of his warlike operations, he was compelled to administer all the civil and revenue details of the different provinces which he overran. He kept up at the same time a constant correspondence with Mr. Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Hislop, Sir John Malcolm, and others, by whom he was regularly consulted as to the general plan of the war; and this was the more embarrassing, that on their parts the correspondence was in cipher, to which, though he repeatedly applied for it, the Madras Government neglected to supply

a key. It is impossible, in a work like the present, to insert even a few of the many admirable letters written by him at this period; but I have introduced into the Appendix one official communication addressed to Mr. Elphinstone, which will serve as a specimen of the rest, and suffice to prove the truth of the remark just hazarded, as to the multiplicity of affairs which he was called upon to transact.

On the 26th of February, General Munro again pressed forward, directing his steps up the right bank of the Gutpurba, with a view, first, of completing his conquests south of that river, and then carrying his arms into the districts on the north. The breaking down of some of his guns delayed him, so that he did not reach Gokauk till the 7th of March, but here he crossed the stream, and, re-crossing at Ghorgurry, encamped before Paudshapoor, which immediately submitted. One fortress only, that of Balgam, now remained in the occupation of the Peishwah's troops: it was a place of greater strength than any which he had yet attacked, and was held by a garrison of not less than one thousand six hundred men; it is not therefore wonderful that, with his scanty means, he should have experienced some doubt as to the prudence of attempting it. But his hesitation, if such it deserve to be called, exerted no farther influence over him than to produce a powerful appeal for farther means; and when he found that the exigency of the service would

permit no attention to be paid to it, he shrank not from the responsibility of employing those already within his reach. He arrived before the place on the 20th; and such were the skill and energy with which the siege was pushed, that on the 10th of April a capitulation was signed. By this the enemy pledged themselves to evacuate the fortress by the evening of the 14th at the latest; and on the 12th General Munro was in possession of one of the most formidable fortifications in this quarter of India, the *enceinte* of which, covered by a broad and deep ditch, measures about a mile and five furlongs.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that General Munro's official despatch, giving an account of this operation, speaks warmly in praise of the zeal and intelligence of both officers and men who served under him. Perhaps no man in command ever did greater justice to his inferiors, or took less credit to himself; and hence, whilst we find Lieut.-Colonel Newall, Lieuts. Lewis and Dickenson, Walker and Mackay, mentioned in the terms which their gallantry and devotion deserved, not one syllable of self-commendation is to be discovered in the document. This, however, was only one out of many noble traits in the character of Sir Thomas Munro. Whether wealth or fame were the prize to be gained, there never lived a human being more perfectly free from selfishness; indeed, it appeared as if, on all occasions, he was more anxious that others should reap

their merited rewards, than that common justice should be done to his own pre-eminent exertions.*

The loss sustained by the British army during this siege amounted to no more than twenty-three men killed and wounded; that of the enemy was admitted by themselves to exceed seventy. The result of the operation placed at the disposal of the conqueror a strong and commanding fortress, thirty-six pieces of ordnance of large calibre, sixty smaller guns and wall-pieces, besides complete stores of every description. No acquisition could have fallen into General Munro's hands of which the value was more likely to be acknowledged; for his eighteen-pounders were so run at the touchhole, through repeated use, that three fingers might have been easily introduced.

General Munro rested his over-wrought division at Balgam till the 17th, employing himself all the while in the consolidation of his conquests; after which, being apprised of the march of General Pritzler with the main body of the reserve, for the purpose of joining and acting henceforth under his orders, he put his little column in motion to meet it. He retraced his steps towards the Gutpurba, which for the

* General Munro was so deficient in gunners, and indeed in Europeans generally during this siege, that he was obliged to employ the troopers of the 22nd dragoons, both as artillerymen and grenadiers. He speaks of their services in these capacities as being most meritorious.

third time he crossed on the 18th; and on the following day the much-wished-for junction was effected at a place called Nugger Manowlie. Now then at length the subject of this memoir saw himself at the head of a somewhat respectable force; and he who had effected so much with means apparently inadequate to any thing, was not slow in entering, with his enlarged resources, upon operations of still greater importance.

The fall of Balgam having completed the conquest of the Peishwah's dominions south of the Kistna, General Munro determined to grant him no cessation; but to push forward as far as the Beemah, between which and the Gutpurba Cassee Rao's select infantry and guns were known to be encamped. No needless wavering occurred in the execution of this project; for the division, marching on the 26th, compelled the enemy to fall back with precipitation, and arrived on the 9th of May, in front of his position, under the guns of Shalapoor. General Munro, in spite of a heavy fire from the works, closely and accurately reconnoitred it. A native officer was then sent forward with proposals for the surrender of the place; but the Arab governor, regardless of the sanctity of his flag, murdered him at the foot of the rampart. Nothing therefore remained but to commence the siege with as little delay as possible; and to this end, the energies of every man and officer in the British camp were henceforth zealously directed.

"The fort of Shalapoor," says Colonel Blacker,

"is an oblong of considerable area, with a wall and *fausse-braye* of substantial masonry, flanked by substantial round-towers. A broad and deep wet ditch surrounds the place, and the north and east sides are covered by an extensive pettah, surrounded by a good wall, and divided in the same manner into two parts, of which one is immediately contiguous to the fort. To the southward, communicating with the ditch, is a tank, surrounded on three sides by a mound, which in its extent formed a respectable breastwork to the enemy's position under the walls. Their force, thus strongly posted, amounted to eight hundred and fifty horse, five thousand five hundred and fifty foot,* including one thousand two hundred Arabs, and fourteen guns; independent of the garrison, estimated at one thousand. Major de Pinto, a country-born descendant of Europeans, commanded the regular infantry, and the Native chief,

* Colonel Blacker, though usually remarkable for his accuracy, has greatly underrated the amount of the enemy's force. By official returns obtained after the siege, it proved to be—

Of Arabs	2000
Mohillahs	1500
Sindees	1000
Gosaens	700
Major Pinto's infantry	1000
Hindostani and Deccan ditto	4000
Total	10,200
Cavalry	1,500
Grand total	11,700

named Gunput Rao Phansee, was the hereditary commandant of the Peishwah's artillery."

From the description which has been given of the ground occupied by the enemy's field-force, it will be seen that nothing effective could be attempted against the fort, whilst the covering army continued unbroken; and that to hazard an attack upon it, without first of all gaining possession of the works on which it leaned, would have been to waste the lives of his own soldiers for no purpose. General Munro accordingly directed his attention chiefly to the reduction of the pettah; and having ascertained that the walls were not so lofty, nor the ditch so deep as to render an escalade impracticable, he resolved to make trial of that species of assault. With this view, he distributed his little corps into three columns, two of which, led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Newall and Major Giles respectively, were told off for the escalade; whilst the third, under General Pritzler, was appointed to act as a reserve, and to watch the movements of Gunput Rao Phansee's army. They mustered, each of the escalading parties, two companies of European flankers, two ditto Native rifles, one weak battalion Native infantry, and one company of pioneers; whilst the reserve was made up of two troops of His Majesty's 22nd dragoons, with their gallopers, two companies of European and four of Native infantry, four six-pounder guns, and two howitzers.

These arrangements being made over-night, at an early hour on the 10th, the attacking columns moved forward, so as to reach the bottom of the wall just as the dawn was breaking. The ladders were immediately planted, and a brisk fire of artillery opening at the same time upon the defences, at a distance of three or four hundred yards, the troops gained the parapet at a rush: they leaped down into the streets, and driving the defendants before them with great impetuosity, soon made themselves masters of the pettah. But the enemy's army, alarmed by the firing, began to make a movement, and in a few moments the reserve found itself exposed to a heavy cannonade from seven guns, pushed forward under cover of a strong body of infantry to enfilade them. The artillery of the reserve was not slow in replying to this salute; and a warm cannonade ensued on both sides, till a shot from one of the six-pounders striking a tumbril in the enemy's line, it exploded, and caused a good deal of confusion. General Munro instantly saw his advantage, and with the greatest promptitude took advantage of it. The reserve, reinforced by such troops from the pettah as could by this time be spared, was ordered to advance, Colonel Dalrymple, of the artillery, leading, whilst the General himself, waving his hat in his hand, nobly set the example. It was an irresistible charge. The enemy, panic-struck, gave way, after a feeble resistance, and abandoning

their guns, in the hurry of the flight, took shelter within their lines.

From this moment it was abundantly evident, that the spirit of the Peishwah's followers was broken. A few abortive attempts were indeed made, in the course of the day, to recover the pettah; but these failing, the attention of the Mahratta leaders was directed entirely to secure a retreat. About noon, numerous parties of fifty and a hundred men each were observed stealing from the camp, which halted, one or another, at a couple of miles' distance; and towards four o'clock P. M., the whole army, with the exception of the artillery, which would have encumbered without assisting the movement, was in rapid march to the westward.

General Munro saw at a glance in what predicament affairs stood. The enemy had got the start of him too far to be followed with effect by infantry; but the cavalry, consisting of the 22nd dragoons, two hundred irregular horse, under Captain Munro, of the 7th Native cavalry, and a like number of the Nizam's horse, which had just arrived under Doolah Khan, were placed under General Pritzler's orders, and sent in pursuit. No body of men could do their duty more effectually. General Pritzler overtook the retreating column about seven miles from Shalapoor, charged, broke, and utterly dispersed it, killing upwards of eight hundred upon the spot, and scattering the remainder over the face of the

country. The closing in of night, indeed, alone saved any of the fugitives; but the army upon which the Peishwah mainly depended, was so thoroughly disorganized, so completely broken in spirit, and denuded of arms, equipments, and baggage, as to be, in a military point of view, utterly annihilated.

These preliminary operations being happily concluded, General Munro next applied himself to the task of reducing the fort, against which his batteries opened on the 11th, and continued to play till the 14th. A practicable breach was thus effected; but the killedar, disheartened by witnessing the defeat of the covering army, anticipated the threatened assault, by proposing to capitulate. His offer was not rejected; and the garrison being permitted to march out with arms and private baggage, Shalapoor was taken quiet possession of by the conquerors. There were found in the place, besides wall-pieces, and abundance of military stores and ammunition, thirty-seven guns of different calibres; whilst the total loss sustained during the progress of a service so arduous, amounted to no more than one hundred and two men and officers killed and wounded. But the importance of this capture, and of the victory which preceded it, is not to be estimated by the number of people slain, or the amount of material captured. There cannot be a doubt that intelligence of so heavy a disaster took away from the Peishwah the last glimmering of hope which he

might have hitherto encouraged, and tended not a little to bring about the memorable negotiation, which ended soon afterwards in his surrender to Sir John Malcolm.

With the fall of Shalapoor, General Munro's brilliant campaign may be said to have closed, inasmuch as no other place offered the slightest resistance to his arms. Attempts were indeed made by several of the chieftains, more particularly by Appa Dessaye, a jagheerdar of great influence, to overreach in negotiation one whom they ventured not to resist by force; but General Munro's knowledge of the native character was too intimate to lay him open to wiles which he saw through, and defeated with the utmost coolness. The following letter to Mr. Elphinstone will explain how these matters were managed.

2nd June, 1818.

AFTER leaving Sutturah on the morning of the 29th ultimo, I rejoined the reserve the following day about noon. On my arrival, I found that an order from Appa Dessaye to his officers at Manowlie, directing the immediate surrender of that place to the Company, had been received in camp, and despatched about an hour before. Though the order itself was perfectly clear, I was convinced, both from the character of the Dessaye, and his recent conduct, that it would not be acted upon, without an attempt being made to gain time to try the effect of negotiation; I therefore determined to prevent all unnecessary delay by marching to Nepawmee. I informed the two dewans of the Dessaye, who were in camp, of my intention. They endeavoured to dissuade me from ad-

vancing, by urging all the usual arguments about their master's sincerity and attachment to the British Government. I told them that their master had been long enough at hand to have carried into effect the order which I had sent to them ten or twelve days ago, for the surrender of Manowlie, if he had been disposed to do it;—that the season was too far advanced for me to halt, in order to see whether he was sincere or not;—that I should in consequence march next morning, the 31st May;—that on the 1st June I should encamp before Nepawmee, and that if the receipt for the delivery of Manowlie to the person whom I had sent to receive possession of that place, did not reach me early on the 2nd, I should, on that day, treat the Dessaye as an enemy, and commence the siege of his fort.

On hearing this, the dewan, Nachur Punt, said, that he would himself instantly proceed to Manowlie and deliver it up, which he did accordingly.

When I marched from Erroor on the 31st ultimo, Appa Dessaye had sent no order for giving up the district of Chickoree. His second dewan, Singoo Punt, who accompanied me, proposed to deliver up the circar, and retain the enaum villages. His plan was at once rejected, because it would in fact have enabled the Dessaye to continue to maintain a number of his servants at the expense of the districts. I told the dewan that the order must be for the surrender of the whole district, without any reservation, and that it must be brought to me before my arrival at Nepawmee. He met me on the march yesterday morning with this order; but as it reserved the enaum villages, it was returned to him; and he soon after came back with another order for unconditional surrender. As the time during which he was absent was too short to admit of his having gone to Nepawmee for the second order, it was evident that he had brought *both* with him.

Such is a brief and imperfect outline of the services of Sir Thomas Munro, during the war with the Peishwah and the Mahrattas, in 1817 and 1818. From first to last, they were carried on under disadvantages against which few besides himself would have held up; yet their results were such as an ordinary mind, however enthusiastic in its calculations, could not for a moment have anticipated. Of the hindrances thrown in his way, a tolerably correct estimate must have been already formed. He could scarcely be said to be at the head of an army, even when General Pritzler joined him; and till that event occurred, his whole force fell short of the strength of a moderate sized regiment. The Madras Government, moreover, by what principle actuated I presume not to say, was the reverse of diligent in attending to his requests: nay, there are circumstances connected with their proceedings, which would almost lead the indifferent spectator to conclude, that failure on his part would have been more acceptable than the most brilliant success. The extraordinary vacillation likewise displayed by those in power—the shifting of command from General Pritzler to General Munro, and from General Munro to General Pritzler,—might, and in ordinary cases must, have led to the worst consequences. Indeed, it is not going too far to affirm, that nothing but the great temper, and pure and honourable zeal of these officers, hindered such an issue from taking place.

Again, upon General Munro was devolved not merely the conduct of the war, but the civil administration of all the provinces which he obtained by conquest or cession. Every question connected with the settlement of claims, the adjustment of the revenue, and the administration of justice, was referred to him, by which means his tent was not more the head-quarters of an army, than the chief civil court in the Southern Mahratta country. Then his correspondence with other functionaries was voluminous. All unprejudiced men estimated him as he deserved, and were in consequence glad to avail themselves of his advice; whilst he was too sincere a patriot to refuse his council, though aware that of the merit of deeds arising out of it he would reap no portion.

But if General Munro's difficulties were of no ordinary nature, and if there were a few quarters where the result of his exertions was witnessed with regret, these evils were more than counterbalanced by the admiration of all the great and the good both in India and in England. In the gazettes of the day, and in the popular accounts of the war, his name, it is true, will not be found at every page; but the public records at Calcutta—at the India House—and in the British House of Commons, abound with testimonials to his honour. The private letters, likewise, of all the most eminent men employed at the same time, are full of expressions of admira-

tion of his conduct; of which the following, addressed by Sir John Malcolm to Mr. Secretary Adams, may be taken as a specimen.

17th February, 1818.

I SEND you a copy of a public letter from *Tom Munro Saheb*, written for the information of Sir Thomas Hislop. If this letter makes the same impression upon you that it did upon me, we shall all recede, as this extraordinary man comes forward. We use common vulgar means, and go on zealously, and actively, and courageously enough; but how different is his part in the drama! Insulated in an enemy's country, with no military means whatever, (five disposable companies of sepoys were nothing,) he forms the plan of subduing the country, expelling the army by which it is occupied, and collecting the revenues that are due to the enemy, through the means of the inhabitants themselves, aided and supported by a few irregular infantry, whom he invites from the neighbouring provinces for that purpose. His plan, which is at once simple and great, is successful in a degree, that a mind like his could alone have anticipated. The country comes into his hands by the most legitimate of all modes, the zealous and spirited efforts of the natives, to place themselves under his rule, and to enjoy the benefits of a Government which, when administered by a man like him, is one of the best in the world. Munro, they say, has been aided in this great work by his local reputation,—but *that* adds to his title to praise. His popularity, in the quarter where he is placed, is the result of long experience of his talents and virtues, and rests exactly upon that basis of which an able and good man may be proud.

Confess, after reading the inclosed, that I have a right to exult in the eagerness with which I pressed upon you the necessity of bringing forward this *master-workman*.

You had only heard of him at a distance; I had seen him near. Lord Hastings, however, showed on this, as on every other occasion, that he had only one desire—how best to provide for every possible exigency of the public service.

It is not worth while to encumber the pages of a work like this with a transcript from the numerous official documents which lie within the reach of all men; but the two following panegyrics, the one contained in a private letter from Lord Hastings, the other spoken by Mr. Canning on occasion of a vote of thanks being passed to the army in India, are too eloquent to be omitted.

"In a public acknowledgment of your exploits," says the former, "I have striven to express my opinion of their tone and importance. With that attempt, however, I cannot be satisfied; it may be liable to be considered as one of those official recognitions, where the phrases are not supposed to be exactly measured; and when he who offers the compliment may be suspected of exaggeration in the terms, for the sake of proving his own liberality in the estimate of his command of language. Allow me, therefore, to indulge myself in a private declaration of my sentiments, that I may assert the formal tribute paid by me to your merits, to have been strictly what your conduct claimed; assuring you of my sincere regret, that your exertions should have contributed in any way to the injury of your health. Let me say, that I do not speak on your own individual account only: I have a deep sense of the loss which the public interest sustains by your relinquishment of active employment. You too have the consciousness, would you avow it, of this latter feeling in your breast; and you will internally grieve that you cannot con-

tinue to advance those great objects which you have so conspicuously promoted. It will be some consolation to you to know, that you must convey with you the applause of all who have witnessed your energy and judgment; while this letter will be my testimony to our honourable employers, that they cannot too highly rate the quality of your efforts in their service."

Mr. Canning's meed of praise, doubly valuable as arising from a man whose eloquence left an impression never to be effaced on the minds of his auditors, was as follows. After applauding, as they deserved, other armies and other leaders, the speaker went on to say :—

"At the southern extremity of this long line of operations, and in a part of the campaign carried on in a district far from public gaze, and without the opportunities of early especial notice, was employed a man whose name I should indeed have been sorry to have passed over in silence. I allude to Colonel Thomas Munro, a gentleman of whose rare qualifications the late House of Commons had opportunities of judging at their bar, on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, and than whom Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier. This gentleman, whose occupations for some years must have been rather of a civil and administrative than a military nature, was called early in the war to exercise abilities which, though dormant, had not rusted from disuse. He went into the field with not more than five or six hundred men, of whom a very small proportion were Europeans, and marched into the Mahratta territories, to take possession of the country which had been ceded to us by the treaty of Poonah. The population, which he subjugated by arms, he managed

with such address, equity, and wisdom, that he established an empire over their hearts and feelings. Nine forts* were surrendered to him, or taken by assault, on his way; and at the end of a silent and scarcely observed progress, he emerged from a territory heretofore hostile to the British interest, with an accession instead of a diminution of force, leaving every thing secure and tranquil behind him. This result speaks more than could be told by any minute and extended commentary."

To the above testimonials in favour of the great merits of General Munro, no language of mine could add any thing. All therefore that I feel called upon to observe is, that there was not a point connected with the well-being of an army, to which he paid not the most scrupulous and unremitting attention. By a discipline strict, yet mildly administered, he at once kept officers and men to their duty; whilst of marauding or wanton plunder, scarcely an instance occurred during the entire course of the service.

"He possessed," says an officer now in England, who filled a responsible situation on his staff, "the happiest talent at conciliating every one under his command, whether European or Native, by his open, manly, just, and honourable way of acting on all occasions; but he never sacrificed duty. He never allowed any one to assume an authority

* Mr. Canning was mistaken as to the number of fortresses taken. Even those reduced under the immediate eye of General Munro himself exceeded the number of nine; and if others captured under his auspices be counted, they will amount to more than thrice nine.

that belonged to him by right of his situation; and he was ever most scrupulous not to encroach on the rights and privileges of others, either directly or indirectly. I never met such a considerate man. He never would allow a rude or uncourteous letter to be addressed to any officer, let his rank be what it may, though he never allowed any thing improper to pass unnoticed, and used severity when necessary, but always reluctantly. He never allowed a letter or order to issue under his name, without its being first shown to and approved by him. When displeasure was expressed, and found afterwards not to be deserved, he always acknowledged his error as openly as he had expressed his disapprobation; but these errors seldom happened with him, for he had too much value for the feelings of all under him."

The war being now at an end, General Munro, whose health had suffered severely from fatigue, made ready to rejoin his wife and family, whom he had left at Bangalore. For this purpose he applied for leave to resign all his commissions, civil as well as military; and though strongly urged by the Governor-General to assist his friend Mr. Elphinstone in permanently settling the conquered districts, he resolutely refused.

No sooner, therefore, was the reluctant consent of the Marquis of Hastings received, than he gave up his command, and took the road to Madras: yet even on this occasion he was not inattentive to the public good. He drew up a paper on the state of the country, whilst prosecuting his journey, which for clearness and energy might serve as a model to all compilers of statistics; and

which, though it be too voluminous for insertion in this place, will be found in the APPENDIX.

General Munro found his family anxiously waiting his return at Bangalore, with whom he arrived in due time at Madras. Here, about two months were devoted to the arrangement of necessary affairs, public as well as private; and on the 24th of January, 1819, the party embarked for England, with a firm determination never again to revisit the Eastern hemisphere.

Subjoined are a few letters to private friends, written during the progress of the war. They are given, not only because they illustrate the amiable qualities of General Munro's heart, but because, in more than one instance, they throw additional light upon the circumstances in which he was engaged.

TO GEORGE BROWN, ESQ., LONDON.

Camp at Guddak, 15th October, 1817.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

WHILE I pursue my present occupation, I see no chance of writing long letters; I have been constantly in tents since the beginning of last January, and during that time, between travelling in the sun and writing, I have almost destroyed my sight. I have come to camp to enjoy a little ease, and save my eyes, and I am now on my way with a military force to reduce the petty Mahratta chief of Soondoor, a descendant of Morari Rao, formerly an ally of the Company against Hyder Ally. He will probably surrender his little territory without resistance, on receiving the assurance of some provision being made for

him. Whether he does or not, I believe I must conform to the fashion, and write something about manœuvres, and demonstrating and surmounting invincible obstacles of nature and art. If you don't see something of this kind in the papers, you may conclude that my eyes are in a very bad way. We have now in the field about three times the force that was employed under Lord Lake and General Wellesley, against the Mahratta confederacy in 1803; and I know of no hostile force any where, that is able to meet a single division of any of our armies. With regard to the Pindarries, they are a most contemptible enemy, whose numbers have been greatly exaggerated. No party of them has yet been seen strong enough to oppose a few hundred regulars. All their different parties do not probably exceed ten or twelve thousand, including all kinds of rabble. They never would have ventured to enter our territory, had they not discovered that we were restrained from following them into their own. This conduct of the Indian Government, which I suppose was owing to orders from home, produced the consequence which every body here foresaw. The Pindarries, when they saw that they had nothing to fear if they could only get safe back with their plunder to their own country, were encouraged to repeat their depredations in ours. They are under different chiefs, among whom there is little union, and but very slender resources. Even if they were ever so well united, they have only a few very small districts, chiefly in the dominions of Scindiah and Holkar. Some of their chiefs were formerly in the service of the Mysore and other Native governments, and are now, from the weakness of their governments, enabled to maintain some kind of independence; and as their possessions are inadequate to the maintenance of their followers, they make up the deficiency by levying contributions both on their Pagan and Christian neighbours. They can make no resistance, and will pro-

bably disperse on the advance of our armies, and seek employment under some of the Native states. Scindiah and Holkar's family will, I imagine, accede to any terms we may dictate. Enough of politics,—I am almost tired of them, and often wished, when I read your letter, describing your journey to the Continent, that I had been with you. Few have seen so much in so short a time; and at a time when Buonaparte's operations have rendered most countries on the Continent much more interesting than ever they were before.

TO MRS. MUNRO.

Dummul, 19th November, 1817.

I LEFT camp yesterday morning, and the sudden transition from constant noise and bustle, to silence and solitude, appears almost like a dream. This is the only time since my last return to India that I have travelled alone by regular stages, except during my journey from Hurrihur to Darwar. I was glad that you were not in camp, because it would have been both fatiguing and uncomfortable to me as well as to yourself, and would have been a very inconvenient interruption to the free and constant access which every body in a camp should have to the commanding officer; but, now that I am alone, I am sorry that you are away. It is only when I am alone, however, that I wish for you. I should not like to have you at Darwar, because I might be called away suddenly, and be obliged to leave you alone among strangers, and the distance from Madras would be too great for you to undertake the journey alone. I wished much to have had you with me this morning in my walk. The weather is so cool, that I went out after breakfast, between ten and eleven, and strolled along the bank of a rocky nullah for an hour; often standing still for some minutes, looking at the water tumbling over the stones, and the green sod and

bushes looking greener from a bright sun. There is nothing I enjoy so much as the sight and the sound of water gushing and murmuring among rocks and stones. I fancy I could look on the stream for ever—it never tires me. I never see a brawling rivulet in any part of the world, without thinking of the one I first saw in my earliest years, and wishing myself beside it again. There seems to be a kind of sympathy among them all. They have all the same sound, and in India and Scotland they resemble each other more than any other part of the landscape. I had written thus far about one o'clock to-day, when I was interrupted by the killedar of this place wanting a pass to visit a pagoda in the Company's territory, with twenty horsemen; then came complaints from the head man of the village about camp followers; then my own Bramin and Mahratta letters, which, with half an hour for dinner, occupied me till dark. As the same thing will happen to-morrow and to-morrow, I am now finishing this letter by candlelight, with the help of a handkerchief tied over the shade. This, I believe, is the first time since we were at Shevagunga that I have had such an apparatus. When I was encamped about three weeks ago on the spot where I am now, every thing looked dismal: it had been raining constantly for many weeks; the ground was swampy, the tents were wet outside and inside, and man and beast were jaded. The ground is now dry and covered with grass, as if not a foot had ever trodden upon it; the change is so great, that it seems to me like a transition from war to peace, and as if a long time had passed since I was here. I shall feel the same thing at every halting-place on my way to Darwar, and I shall be harassed with complaints from every village about my own devastations among the grain-fields, when I was marching down this way.

I have contrived to read the whole four volumes you sent me of the Tales of my Landlord. The Black Dwarf

is an absurd thing with little interest, and some very disgusting characters. I like Old Mortality much; but certainly not so well as Guy Mannering. Cuddie has got a little of Sambo about him. His testifying mother is just such an auld wife as I have often seen in the West. Colonel Graham is drawn with great spirit; and I feel the more interested in him from knowing that he is the celebrated Lord Dundee. I admire Edith, but I should like her better if she were not so wonderfully wise—she talks too much like an Edinburgh Reviewer. Kind remembrance to Cochrane and his lady.

TO MRS. MUNRO.

Camp at Darwar, 28th December, 1817.

I DO not know when I wrote you last, but I think it must have been about eight or ten days ago, which is the longest time that has ever passed without my writing to you. I believe that one of the causes of my writing to you just now is, that I am too tired to do any thing else. I am constantly occupied all day, and sometimes till very late at night, in a new line of business, in encouraging plots against all the constituted authorities of the ancient government, and hearing the accounts of the success or discomfiture of my friends the conspirators. I see new groups and new faces every day, and many of them not very well-favoured; but well enough for the work in which they are engaged. It is a most fatiguing task to keep them all going, and to be called up at night, and to have my sleep murdered by dire recitals of counterplots. I hope it will be all over by Candlemas, or, at least, by Whitsuntide, and then I shall go to bed and sleep for a week; and I should not care if it were at sea, for I should like to be rocked by the waves after all this hurly-burly on shore.

TO MRS. MUNRO.

Camp at Jallihal, 11th February, 1818.

I SUPPOSE your next letter will inform me of your having got into the paymaster's bungalow. It is a great comfort, in every situation, to have a home of one's own; and, on this account, I sometimes prefer a hot tent to a cool house; but at present, I think, I should have no objections to exchange, for the weather is getting very hot in this part of the country, and we feel it the more from the coldness of the night. The days are almost as hot now as last year when we were travelling from Madura to Coimbitore. The thermometer is above ninety in the heat of the day, and about fifty at sunrise. On marching-days we rise at three, and either stand or sit, as we please, in the cold, until four, when, our tents being packed up, we march off. It continues very cold till about seven, and by eight o'clock the sun is quite oppressive. From the moment we leave Darwar, our march is over black ground, cracked by the heat of the sun; and almost all the water we meet with is brackish, except some that is as salt as the sea. I sometimes think of the fine water of Malabar, when I am obliged to swallow this stuff with my tea; but I console myself with the expectation of better times, when I shall be able to finish M. Du Diffand, of whose letters I have read at long intervals about half a volume, since we last parted in July. You must think that I am very idle, and it is perhaps the case; for I do not recollect that I have devoted any part of my time to the reading of any other book, not even of a Review. I dare say you are better employed; but I suspect that you have never yet finished Mitford's Greece. I like the book so well, that I am much distressed at his not having continued it to the death of Alexander. Kind remembrance to the Marriotts.

On the 13th January, 1818, he wrote to Mr. Stratton, his colleague in the Judicial Commission, in the following terms :—

"I have not a moment to myself; I am doing subaltern's duty as a general-officer, and am obliged to endure more fatigue than ever I did in any camp in my life. When I was at the head of the reserve, the business was easy. I had Staff to look after all the details; but now I am again in a civil as well as a military capacity. I am endeavouring, with a small detachment, to occupy an extensive tract of country, which, I fear, has been so much exhausted, and will be so much overrun by the enemy, that it will not pay the landstrum I have taken upon myself to raise. I have not a moment to myself from morning to night; and unless times change very much, it may be a long while before I can answer the Bengal queries."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp near Belgaum, 24th March, 1818.

I CAN be of no use to you while the war lasts. I shall never be able to command six hours' leisure, which you think enough; and even if I had this leisure, I should be thinking of more immediate concerns than laws and regulations. I have five-and-twenty amildars on my hands, with a list of about seven thousand peons, or, what is called in the newspapers, irregular infantry. I have also the command of regular troops, the political management of the southern jagheerdars, and much more than I can well attend to. I should be delighted to have a few weeks' leisure with you at Madras, to finish whatever is wanting; but you must expect nothing from me while I am on this side the Toombuddra. You can do what is wanting yourself better than any body else.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, Badshapoor, 11th March, 1818.

MR. —— is wrong, if he thinks I am tired of the Commission (judicial). I am as much interested about every thing regarding it as when I embarked from England; but the long illness I had at Madras, and the overwhelming labour I have had for the last six months, have injured my constitution, and will soon render me unfit for any heavy business. It is therefore better that I should give up my employment, than that I should seek to retain it when I am no longer capable of discharging its duties as formerly.

On the 16th May, he wrote from Shalapoor—

"I am half blind; the heat is excessive—108, and not under 100 in the day, for nearly a month. It has knocked up many officers and men, and has almost finished me."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Camp, Hooblee, 15th June, 1818.

I MUST get you to draft the letter; a few lines will do. I would not trouble you, were I not still occupied with the details of a camp. This takes up all the forenoon, and always some part of the afternoon. I am engaged in transferring some territory from the most turbulent and ambitious of all the Mahratta jagheerdars, the Dessye of Nepawmee, to the Kolapoor Rajah. To do this, I must have the command of troops, as it is military authority which facilitates civil arrangements among these chiefs. I shall not quit my command till I have done all the rough work which I think necessary for ensuring the quiet conduct of these men hereafter. The fellows have no idea of recognizances.*

* Alluding to a good deal of discussion which had passed among the judicial Commissioners on this point.

TO HIS SISTER.

Camp near Belgaum, 28th March, 1818.

MY DEAR ERSKINE,

WHEN I think of the long time which has passed without my writing to you, it seems so strange, that I can hardly believe it. There are many causes, however, which prevent me from writing either to you or to any one else as formerly. I cannot now write by candlelight; and it was after dark that all my private letters used to be written. If I persist in writing when I feel my eyes uneasy, they water, and get blood-shot. But the great obstacle to my corresponding with you and my brother is, the endless public business writing, which comes upon me whether I will or not. Fortune, during the greatest part of my Indian life, has made a drudge of me; every labour which demands patience and temper, and to which no fame is attached, seems to have fallen to my share, both in civil and military affairs. I have plodded for years among details of which I am sick, merely because I knew that it was necessary, and I now feel the effects of it in an impaired sight; and a kind of lassitude at times, as if I had been long without sleep. But though I have not written to you, I have, I believe, thought of you oftener than at any former period. The changes in my constitution make me naturally think oftener of home, where it would suffer less; and I certainly never think of home without remembering you, and wishing to ramble with you among the banks at Amnondel, or any other banks you like. When I am once again fairly upon your favourite bridge, nothing shall ever tempt me to return to India. I hope, however, that you will not expect me to eat as much as any three of your guests, nor insist upon my being sick, when I devour only as much as two.

I do not recollect whether I have written to Margaret since my return to India, but I fear that I have not. I

hear of her frequently, as well as of all my friends at home, from Alexander, who is an excellent correspondent. I hope that Mr. Erskine is again well, and able to enjoy his country-life and long walks, as usual. He ought never to be sick; for were he but in health, he has so much enjoyment in every thing, that he would never have an unhappy hour.

We are still engaged in war with the Peishwah; but it is not likely to last longer than two or three months, and may probably be over sooner. I shall then turn my whole thoughts to giving up employment, and getting leave to go home; and I hope that I shall be able to leave India by September.

The following, which was written to Lord Hastings during his stay at Madras, will not, it is presumed, be read without interest.

Madras, 12th November, 1818.

My temporary detention here, in consequence of the Castlereagh's having been driven out of the Roads by the hurricane of the 24th ultimo, has permitted me, before leaving this country, to have the honour of receiving and answering your Lordship's letter of the 22nd September.

I believe that there is no stronger incentive to the zealous discharge of public duty, than the hope of gaining the approbation of those whose characters we have been accustomed to respect, because they are respected by the public: it cannot therefore but be a source of the highest gratification to me, to find that my endeavours to execute properly the share of the late campaign assigned to me, have been deemed worthy of a private testimonial, as well as official record, by your Lordship. Had I not been conscious that I ought, on account of my health, to leave

India for a time, I would not so soon have given up my situation in the Mahratta country, as I thereby sacrificed every future prospect of again earning praise where I most valued it.

On my return to Madras, Mr. Elliot expressed his desire that I should remain in India till January, in order to finish what he thought was still incomplete in the business of the late Commission; and he mentioned at the same time, that it was his intention to re-establish the Commission until my departure. I was sorry the proposal was made, because my not assenting to it might be construed into disrespect: but I declined it on the ground, that having relinquished a military command merely on account of the state of my eyes, it was impossible that I could accept of a civil situation which, from the very nature of its duties, must prove much more injurious to them. Had they not suffered so much from long residence in this country, as to render an entire relief from business necessary for a time, I should, with pleasure, have resumed the pursuits of the labours of the Commission; for I was anxious to give what assistance I could in carrying into effect the orders of the Court of Directors, for employing the natives more extensively in the internal administration of the country. Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good. Whenever, from this cause, the public business falls into arrear, it is said to be owing to the want of a sufficient number of Europeans; and more European agency is recommended as a cure for every evil. Such agency is too expensive; and even if it was not, it ought rather to be abridged than enlarged, because it is, in many cases, much less efficient than that of the natives. For the discharge of all subordinate duties, but especially in the judicial line, the natives are infinitely better qualified than Europeans. I have never seen any European whom I

thought competent, from his knowledge of the language and the people, to ascertain the value of the evidence given before him. The proceedings in our Courts of Judicature, which, in our Reports, make a grave and respectable appearance, are, I know, frequently the subject of derision among the natives.

But it is said that the natives are too corrupt to be trusted. This is an old objection, and one which is generally applicable, in similar circumstances, to the natives of every country. Nobody has ever supposed that the subordinate officers of the Excise and Customs in England are remarkable for their purity. But we need not go home for examples. The Company's servants were notoriously known to make their fortunes in partnership with their native agents, until Lord Cornwallis thought it advisable to purchase their integrity by raising their allowances. Let this be done with regard to the natives, and the effect will be similar—though not perhaps in a similar degree, for we cannot expect to find in a nation fallen under a foreign dominion the same pride and high principle as among a free people; but I am persuaded that we shall meet with a greater share of integrity and talent than we are aware of. While we persist in withholding liberal salaries from the natives, we shall have the services of the worst part of them: by making the salaries adequate to the trust, we shall secure the services of the best. Natives should be employed in every situation where they are better calculated than the Europeans to discharge the duty required. In all original suits, they are much fitter to investigate the merits than Europeans. The European judges should be confined almost entirely to the business of appeals. In criminal cases, the fact should be found by a native jury, who are much more competent than either the European judge or his officers to weigh the nature of the evidence.

Our Government will always be respected from the in-

fluence of our military power; but it will never be popular while it offers no employment to the natives that can stimulate the ambition of the better classes of them. Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none has stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion; and nothing can more certainly produce this effect than our avowing our want of confidence in them, and, on that account, excluding them as much as possible from every office of importance.

It is with great reluctance that I have declined acting again in a Commission, the main object of which was, to give to the natives a greater share in the internal administration of the country; and the remarks which I have ventured to make have been drawn from me chiefly by my anxiety to satisfy your Lordship that my refusal to engage in a civil occupation has proceeded altogether from the same cause which compelled me to resign my military command.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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